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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2089

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27 December 1982

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## SCHOOLS OF HIGHER EDUCATION MUST BE SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Aug 82 pp 12-22

[Article by Tefta Cami: "The Task of Our Higher Education Is to Enhance Its Role as a Scientific Institution"]

[Text] Our science has made an important contribution in the realization of all those grandiose achievements and profound changes which have taken place in our country in all fields during the decades of socialist construction.

The party has continually shown special interest and concern for the development of science. Its decisions and guidelines, and the constant recommendations of Comrade Enver Hoxha, have constituted a great work program for the expansion, extension and deepening of the content of the scientific research work, for the organization, management and continuous increase of its qualitative level. In this way, guided, strongly supported and led directly by the party, our science has spread its roots in the entire life of the country and is being successfully developed, closely connected with our entire economic and social development which it has served and is serving more and more.

As the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the party of June 1980 stressed, it has by now become clear that the progress of the country is inseparable from the development of science and technology. The building of hydroelectric power plants and thermoelectric power plants, of combines and of factories, our entire industrial and agricultural development and all the successful efforts being made for the deepening of revolution in all the fields have relied on and are relying, more and more, on our technology.

An important role for the ever broader and faster development of science and technology, has been played and is being played by our higher education.

Along with training of capable cadres, with profound scientific knowledge, our university and other higher schools of our country also are making an important contribution to the solution of a series of problems in various fields of science, by steadily increasing their role as scientific institutions.

The intensive development of the country, the construction of socialism relying on our own forces, are entrusting our science and technology with ever greater tasks which are, however, fully realizable.

The foundations of the further development of scientific research work have been laid and consolidated by the party on time. Over 50,000 higher cadres and over 161,000 intermediary level cadres, who have been trained and work in all the sectors of our country, are a powerful support for setting the economy, industry, agriculture, construction on increasingly sound bases. In this way, the party has created a high technical and scientific intellectual potential which has successfully faced and faces all the problems of development. This constitutes a considerable capacity for advancing technical and scientific thought in our country.

The general cultural, technical and professional level of the working class and of the cooperative peasantry has been steadily rising and, parallel to it, their contribution to the development of the technical-scientific revolution.

On the other hand, the new technology applied in production, the equipment, machinery, technical supplies, laboratories, the entire technical material base, which has been created for foresight by the party, create other great possibilities for better organizing and advancing research, study and experimental work.

These objective factors are being utilized, but can be better utilized by our schools, especially by higher education. Relying on the guidelines of the Eighth Party Congress, which considered scientific work as an activity which must lead the development in all the sectors of the country's economy and culture, the Politburo of the Central Committee, in its decision of June 1982 "About the Further Improvement of the Teaching and Education Work of the School," presented on a new, broader and deeper plane, the improvement of the scientific level of this work in general, and in particular, the improvement of the role of higher education, as a scientific institution. Through this decision, the party demands that our higher education increase its efforts and raise the level of its entire work, aiming to better fulfill the needs of the economy, of culture and of defense with specialists who are ideologically well formed and who have the best possible scientific training, who will be in a position not only to face every day work, but, also, to design and implement new technologies, to lead and to scientifically solve important tasks, to be capable of promoting the technical-scientific revolution at a rapid pace in the sector in which they work.

The party has assigned great tasks to our higher education for the solving, through their own forces or in cooperation with other scientific institutions and with production enterprises, a series of important scientific problems which serve the fulfillment of the tasks of the seventh five-year plan and of the long-range tasks.

To what extent have these tasks been fulfilled so far and in which directions must our higher education broaden and improve its work in order to better play the role of a scientific institution?

In the entire scientific activity which is carried out in our country, from the work of the technological and design bureaus in the enterprises and in plants, of the scientific cells in the agricultural cooperatives, up to the

specialized, design, research and study institutes of the ministries and of the Academy of Sciences, the ever-increasing effectiveness of the work of our higher education, especially of Tirana University and of the Higher Institute of Agriculture, in the ever better training of capable cadres, is felt.

The schools of higher education have undertaken a broad scientific research activity, which is led by the guideline of the Eighth Congress of the AWP that scientific work should support and ensure the fulfillment of the tasks of the seventh five-year plan. They have undertaken 80 important themes of the nomenclature of the Council of Ministers, and 127 other themes of the ministries, in addition to the involvement in the important work which is carried out for the needs of the school itself, which has to do with the crafting of texts and of monographs, with the various types of scientific, experimental and laboratory research, with the preparation of sessions, conferences, dissertations and so forth.

This rich scientific activity, regardless of the aims and directions of its development, serves on the whole, but it must also better serve, in the first place, the raising of the scientific level of the cadres which our higher education trains. During the discussion which was organized lately to raise, qualitatively, the level of schools, in which students, teachers, cadres and specialists of scientific and production institutions participated, the need to further strengthen the faculty as an important scientific unit, aiming to better help higher education to ensure the continuing training of the teachers, their involvement in scientific research work and the increase of the contribution of the school in solving the most important problems of the economy, culture and education itself was emphasized.

Viewed from this angle, scientific work in higher education cannot be understood and treated as a secondary activity, or as something optional, but as a fundamental activity and an important demand for every instructor and department. The implementation of this function of the department requires from every instructor of higher education that he master scientific knowledge in the field which he covers, enrich them continually and carry them out in practice. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches that the "instructors in higher education must involve themselves more deeply in research activity because only a researcher can follow his discipline with interest and be capable of presenting to an audience with real passion." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth Party Congress of the AWP," p. 135-136)

The training by our higher education of capable specialists, by concentrating more on the creative aspect of the educational process and by activating the entire intellectual potential of the students, cannot be done by those educators who only transmit, albeit methodically well and attractively, ready-made information. This requirement can be met by those teachers who are themselves creative in science and take part and contribute directly to its promotion, by solving important problems and tasks. Therefore, in the evaluation of the work of the teacher priority must be given to his results in the field of scientific research, how much and to what degree he has proven himself as a scientific student and researcher, what his role is in the field of studies and research. This type of demand guarantees not only up-to-date lectures,

but also an up-to-date study, research and scientific work. The party has made it clear that we live in times of rapid progress which do not allow hesitation, haphazard and mediocre work.

But despite the efforts of the teachers, the departments, the basic party organizations of the faculties and their levers to raise the scientific level of work in higher education and despite the considerable achievements in this field, there still remains a lot to be done. There are still teachers who do not make the necessary efforts to monitor those rapid changes in technical equipping and in technology which take place in our country and in the world, to monitor that process in which the old methods have given way to the much more effective new methods of research. And it is a fact that such teachers find it difficult, if not impossible, to provide the students with up-to-date scientific knowledge and the necessary practical instruction in the special field for which they are training, with an introductory, but fundamental, theoretical training in the respective field, as well as with the necessary practical expressions of an independent study work and of an introductory scientific research activity.

Life itself, with its demands and pace, leaves behind and confirms these types of teachers. At the same time, life facilitates the work of knowing and keeping the more skillful ones in our faculties and transferring to other fields those who do not meet the standards of our higher education. "It must be clear to all, Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the Eighth Party Congress--that school demands sweat and effort, demands passion and willpower, conscientiousness and higher discipline." (Enver Hoxha, "Report at the Eighth Party Congress of the AWP," p. 137)

Our school will solve the problem of preparing text-books of a high theoretical and scientific level correctly and quickly in accordance with such requirements. The fact that our school works in all the disciplines with text-books drafted by our teachers, is proof of an important achievement. Of course, the experience which has been gained so far will also be used in preparing and securing new text-books according to the requirements of the decision of the Politburo of the party Central Committee of June 1982 about education, in which the task is laid down for them to reflect the changes and the improvements being made in the substance and the structure of scientific disciplines. But this task cannot be properly realized through partial regulations and improvements. Profound changes are required, on healthy study and scientific bases, for our school to help in improving the scientific level of the educational process, and resolving the important problems of socialist construction.

In order to achieve these objectives, basic party organizations must strongly rely on the experienced gained, which constitutes a concrete and useful example for the practical possibilities which exist for all to implement this demand of the party and of the times.

A number of departments of the University of Tirana, such as these of hydraulics, electric power stations, the Albanian language, neuropsychiatry, geophysics, electrical engineering, machines, mines, general mathematics, as well

as well as a considerable number of departments in other schools of higher education, have succeeded in creating a solid field of research. In this way they are crystallizing their scientific physiognomy and are providing great services to production.

The departments which carry out their study, research and scientific activity in the field of energy, hydroenergy, of electrification and construction, for example, in cooperation with scientific institutions and economic enterprises in these fields, are making an important contribution in the drafting of the thermal-energy balances the country and the rational exploitation of fuels, the optimal distribution of the water and hydroenergy resources in the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the drafting of concrete plans for the utilization of the rivers and their branches, the hydraulic laboratory study of the hydro-power plants, such as that of the Koman dam, increasing the effectiveness of the development and utilization of the energy system, the production of electrical equipment and solving the problems of automation in production, studying light prefabricated constructions, the production of new construction materials and so forth.

Of course, the generalization of the work carried out in these departments cannot be carried out quickly and easily. The basic party organizations in the departments and the party committees in the districts must oppose and resolutely combat all those ideas and attitudes which prevent the department from turning into a basic unit of scientific work. In our departments there are still teachers who try to justify their poor progress and inability to keep up with the pace of the times with all sorts of excuses, such as those which are heard at meetings too, "we are too busy with the teaching process," "scientific work requires free time," "we don't know what to do first," and so forth.

These obstructing concepts, if not resolutely opposed, are expressed in practice by the delays in implementing the plan of scientific work themes, through the placing of minor themes in this plan, without the breadth and value which must characterize the scientific work of the teacher in higher education, in the distribution without criteria, of the scientific forces of the department and by a number of other shortcomings which hinder the organization, the management and coordination of scientific work within and between the departments, within the school of higher education and between it and expanded production.

The incorrect concepts of some teachers concerning the scientific work of the department can also be observed in those onesided and intellectualist attitudes of some teachers when they are engaged with study or scientific work. A close examination of the programs of the scientific work of some departments shows that some teachers reduce study to the theoretical or laboratory aspect of the problem and show lack of responsibility in putting the results of their studies into practice. Some others understand the party's demand that scientific work be carried out in close connection with production and that it aid it, only as a contribution of departments in the service of production, without taking into consideration the powerful influence of the



revolutionary productive and social practice about the teaching, educational and scientific activity on teachers, students and our school, as a whole.

The greater activization of teachers in study, research and scientific work and the increase of effectiveness of every theme, require a more correct solution of a series of problems of an organizational nature, with the goal of freeing the teacher from unnecessary burdens, reducing to a minimum his routine work in order to increase the volume and the effectiveness of scientific work in higher education. It is necessary and possible, in all our departments, for the entire administrative work to be concentrated as a whole in the administration of the school keeping it from reaching the departmental level. Possibilities exist for using auxiliary teaching cadres and not specialized cadres for educational and scientific support. Special care is required for the activization of cadres with titles and scientific grades. In order to raise the effectiveness of their work, it is necessary for them to be further activated in the field of science and that they give further assistance in resolving the main problems of the teaching process, for the training and specialization of the cadres, so that progressive scientific thought can guide the entire school work.

The improvement of the method and style of organizational and management work requires the strengthening of the department as an organizational unit, so as to make it possible to better organize and manage scientific research work in its subjects, to insure scientific debate for theoretical problems, to build research methods and to follow the results attained in the field which it covers. The raising of the effectiveness of the scientific work of the department requires among other things, aiming at making them gradually more homogeneous, so that each can cover one field of science and not several, as happens today, when most of them are organized on the basis of subjects and branches. The raising of the departments to a higher level of specialization with a larger number of workers, will also justify the charging of special people with the programming and achievement of the fulfillment of the scientific work plan.

The other task of the decision of the Politburo of the party Central Committee to reduce and to differentiate the teaching load of the teachers by having as criteria their better involvement in scientific research work and their scientific title and grade, will create favorable conditions and the more rapid development of scientific work in these schools.

The integration of the scientific work of higher education with that which is carried out throughout the country means to coordinate the work in some directions: between the faculties of the schools of higher education and the respective institutions of the Academy of Sciences, between the faculties and the respective institutions of the ministries, between the faculties, the research institutions and economic enterprises, and between the faculties of the schools of higher education which cover the same areas.

In these conditions, the strengthening of the role of the school of higher education as a scientific institution demands that this role be understood in a broad and profound manner in the theme plan and the plan for the level

of scientific work which is carried out both within the school and outside the school, for the problems involved in the fulfillment of the tasks of the seventh five-year plan, as well as studies in forecasting.

Under the conditions of our country, the integration of the scientific work of our higher education in the program, in the scientific forces, in the material base and in the financial means of the entire country is of special importance and contributes to increasing its effectiveness. The problems which have been set before our science for solution are quite varied and require the coordinated contribution of many scientific forces. Our school of higher education, because of the large number of specialists which it possesses, because of their relatively high level of training, and because of the many fields of science which it covers, must better evaluate the problems of the integration of its scientific work with that of the scientific institutions of the Academy of Sciences and of the ministries, as well as with the work which is carried out in the economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives.

In order to carry out this important recommendation of the party, our school of higher education has already taken measures and is continually improving its results. The University of Tirana, for example, especially following the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee of June 1980, has expanded its scientific activity in cooperation with the scientific institutions and production enterprises, and has strengthened the demands and its responsibility in this cooperation.

On the basis of the experience gained, the scientific work plan for the seventh five-year plan 1981-1985, includes a broad and important field of themes, which in close cooperation with the economic organs and scientific institutions, is helping in the solution of a series of tasks in the various fields of the economy and culture. The departments of the University of Tirana have been engaged in the study of 71 themes of the nomenclature of the Council of Ministers, 10 of which are directly led by the University, whereas in 61 others, for which the ministries and the various institutions are responsible the University cooperates on a broad scale. The workers of the departments carry out the guiding scientific role for many important themes even when the responsible organs for them are the ministries and other institutions.

With the fulfillment of the programmed tasks in the thematic plan of scientific work, our school of higher education will make an important contribution in the study and solution of a series of fundamental problems for the development of the economy and culture of our country.

These problems must be pursued with a higher sense of responsibility by the basic party organizations, the dean and the departments of the faculty of Geology and Mines, which have undertaken to solve a series of important problems in the field of geology, of exploration and of utilization of valuable mineral resources, of petroleum and gas, such as the drawing up of the geological map of Albania on the scale 1 : 200.00, the finding of possibilities for increasing the production capacity of the Valiasj mine, the establishment of the chrome-bearing potential of the Lura massive, and the use of

alternative methods in the exploitation of petroleum and gas, and so forth. The faculty of Geology and Mines has been chosen to cooperate on these themes with the Institute of Petroleum and Gas, with the Institute of Geological-Mineral Studies and Designs, with the geological and geophysics enterprises, as well as with the various mines of the country.

Greater attention is required also from the departments of the faculties of engineering, of economics and of natural sciences, where about 80 percent of the workers have taken part in the study of the themes of the nomenclature of the Council of Ministers and of the ministries.

On the road of cooperation, in the field of machine building, a series of studies are being undertaken, such as those for the designing of engines with internal combustion, for the introduction of present-day technologies in the production process, for the designing and production of metal-processing machines, or robots for the food industry and of heavy portable cranes, for the designing and production of defense objects, and so forth. In order to complete these studies successfully, the Department of Engineering must better cooperate with the institutions and enterprises of the Ministry of Industry and Mines, of Communications, of Agriculture and so forth, as well as with the "Enver Hoxha" auto-tractor combine, with the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine, with the shipyards in Durres, and so forth.

Other departments have scheduled a broad field of cooperation for the resolving of a series of important problems. It is the task of the offices of the dean and rector and of the departments to feel their responsibility in this field of cooperation and to fully implement their tasks.

Despite the achievements so far, in the field of integration there still exist narrow concepts, minor interests, departmental attitudes, shortcomings in the organization, pursuit and coordination of scientific work and so forth. It is still not understood by all that the integration of scientific work of higher education in the scientific work which is carried out throughout the country, creates better conditions for the proper development of the teaching process itself. The experience gained by the departments which are more advanced in this field of work, proves that coordination helps the school get better associated with production, to raise the effectiveness of scientific work, raise the quality of its entire teaching work and help resolve the most important problems of production. The creation everywhere of such convictions will result in a further qualitative improvement in the entire activity of our school of higher education and will enhance its role as a scientific institution.

The proper understanding and implementation of the party's demand that our school of higher education be turned into a powerful scientific institution, requires the vitalization of the life, debate and scientific criticism in every department and faculty.

As a relatively new qualitative demand, of a technical character, but also one of outlook, in order to be carried out it requires that the basic party organizations of the faculties create healthy convictions in every teacher and other workers of the departments, that in the conditions when our country



marches forward rapidly on the road of technical progress, the deepening of the scientific character of the school becomes essential.

The basic party organizations and their links in the departments, as well as the respective sectors of the Ministry of Education and Culture, in evaluating and establishing the degree and the quality to which this task is fulfilled, must set out from the position of how much the broadening and deepening of scientific work in the schools of higher education helps to increase the theoretical level of the teaching process, how much it actually enables the students to undertake scientific activities and how much it actually influences and contributes to the implementation of the party program for the further progress of science and technology.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS TO 'ALLEVIATE DIFFERENCES AMONG SOCIAL GROUPS'

West German Commentary

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 17, Sep 82 pp 8-9

['Background' report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Developments and Changes in GDR's Cultural Sector." A translation of the East Berlin WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Official financial subsidies for the GDR's cultural sector are no longer scheduled to grow at the previous rate and, for all intents and purposes, be held at the prevailing level. That is indicated in a contribution by economist Dr Holger Martin and economist Dr Renate Walther in the GDR monthly WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT (No 8, 1982), which details developments and changes in the GDR's cultural sector. According to the article, the number of persons attending concerts in the GDR rose by circa 50 percent between 1970 and 1980, and that of visiting museums, by circa 58 percent. Within the same time span, there was a circa 15-percent drop in theater attendance, and a 13-percent drop in cinema attendance. At the same time, "funds allocated from the state budget for the satisfaction of cultural needs" had been doubled since 1970 and in 1980 came to barely M 1.6 billion.

That sum, in the authors' view, was "used in accordance with the socialist cultural policy priorities and responsive to the changes taking place in the structure and order of precedence in cultural needs." Specifically, allocations for theaters, varieties and cabarets were raised by a goodly 41 percent in the last 10 years, those for culture and club houses by circa 168 percent, for libraries, by a sound 90 percent, and for museums and visual arts institutions, by 150 percent.

In this, "the scope and rate of development of the funds to be allocated are determined by the purpose of socialist cultural policy to give all citizens access to culture and art regardless of their individual income for small entrance

fees (with high official subsidies) or free of charge." Here too the authors mention figures. According to them, "the population now pays only circa 16 percent of the expenses for theaters and circa 30 percent of what all officially directed cultural sectors cost."

Much official money is spent for "ensuring the performance level, mainly for the development, structure and qualifications of labor." That has perceptibly boosted the number of people working in culture and the arts, by 21.2 percent from 1970 to 1980, an increase, according to WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT, that "clearly exceeds that of the national economy."

#### Investments for Projects of National Representation

They also increased the "funds for investment and value preservation measures in recent years." No figures are mentioned about that, however. For instance, in the 1976-1980 period twice the sum for cultural investments over the 1971-1975 period had taken effect.

Those funds were used exclusively "for rebuilding or reconstructing projects of national representation." Special mention is made of the Place of the Academy in East Berlin, the construction of the new Gewandhaus in Leipzig and the reconstruction of the Semper Opera in Dresden. "Allocations for preserving the value of cultural institutions" had kept pace with it.

In the current five-year plan period (1981-1985), funds for the cultural sector available will be "circa at the same value as in the preceding five-year plan period," so that "all cultural sectors (must) attain their higher goals and solve their more ambitious tasks with more or less the same or only slightly higher material and financial funds."

Investments in the cultural sector are again to be concentrated on "completing central construction projects started of national and international importance." There they mention again the East Berlin Place of the Academy along with the Semper Opera in Dresden, and the Friedrichstadt Palais, Deutsches Theater and Kammerspiele, all three houses also in East Berlin.

#### "Better Use of What We Have"

What remains in investment funds, in the authors' views, will not be enough to "ensure the simple reproduction of the mass of cultural institutions." The only possible way "for allocating more investment funds also to the cultural sector in the future" was "the concentration of economic funds on material production." Literally, they continue by saying: "There can be no other task for us right now but making still better use of what we have and resorting to the opportunities of other claimants (commerce, restaurants, public education, sports)."

A "difficult situation," in the view of the two authors, had arisen "mainly in the sector of the material-technical base for cultural institutions." Their "age structure and their, in part, valuable historical structures, the wear and tear of their technical installations and so forth" required "also in the

future extensive expenditures to maintain their viability." In this connection it is being pointed out that "40 percent of the basic assets of the state's cultural institutions are buildings built before 1900." What was important for the years ahead was "to secure the viability of many institutions through regular repair and maintenance and improve the prevailing working conditions."

#### "Alleviate Differences Among Social Groups"

A brief section in the WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT article comments on the "higher tasks in the cultural sector," required by the "continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR." It was mainly a matter of "encouraging the shaping of the people's cultural needs and interests." In particular, the "shaping of the variety of 'facilities, capabilities and pleasures' of all working people" was the "immediate goal in the further development of the socialist personality and of the socialist way of life."

Now it had been found through surveys "on the use made of cultural achievements" that there was indeed a steady growth in the number of persons attending cultural institutions like theaters, cinemas, museums, libraries and culture houses, but that "a considerable sector of the population makes only little use of it," the proportion lying around 60 percent, for instance, in theater attendance.

Furthermore there were "relatively strong differentiations among the social groups of the population, between workers and employees and, again, between workers and employees on the one side and cooperative farmers, on the other," and there were "a number of different reasons for these phenomena." It was decisive for the "further shaping of the working people's cultural needs and interests how one succeeded in further developing the creativeness of the labor process and in further mitigating heavy labor." But also "improving the availability of cultural facilities in working centers and in the countryside" would help significantly "alleviate the differences among social groups."

#### GDR Socioeconomists' Analysis

East Berlin WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT in German Vol 30 No 8, Aug 82 (signed to press 15 Jun 82) pp 1174-1194

[Article by Dr Holger Martin, economist (born 1947), research fellow, Institute for Advanced Training, Ministry for Culture; and Dr Renate Walther, economist, lecturer, Socialist Economy Department, Bruno Leuschner School of Economics, East Berlin: "Topical Questions of the Economics of the Cultural Sector"]

[Text] Culture and art, inseparable components of social processes, have a direct and increasingly more effective influence on the shaping of the developed socialist society. "Cultural progress is an inevitable and necessary element in the development of socialism. It is expressed in the all-round formation of socialist personalities, in the all-inclusive shaping of the socialist way of life in accordance with working class characteristics and ideals, and in the increasing well-being and happiness of the people."<sup>1</sup>

The results achieved in that sense, especially in the last 10 years between the Eighth and 10th SED Congress, impressively reflect the continuity of socialist cultural policy.

Proceeding from the effectiveness of culture and art thus far, their further tasks were determined for the 1980's at the 10th SED Congress. In substance, the further successful development of socialist culture and art depends on the strategic 10th party congress decision to carry on the main task policy even under more complicated conditions. And so, based on high achievements, the people's material and cultural standard of living is ensured and gradually elevated further. Embedded in the overall social processes, "the demands made on the quality and efficacy of our socialist culture and art are going to be heightened further" in the years ahead.<sup>2</sup>

Table 1: Development of Selected Cultural Achievements

		1970=100		
	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1980</u>
State Public Libraries and Trade Union Libraries				
Total of books in units of thousands	27,282,7	107.4	129.7	167.9
Users (in thousands)	4,134,1	102.4	112.0	116.5
Book rentals (in thousands)	66,375,6	107.7	123.3	139.7
Culture and club houses				
Events	317,348	109.6	145.5	176.0
Visitors (in thousands)	35,334,5	107.3	157.3	169.5
Theaters				
Performances	25,918	104.5	97.9	100.8
Visitors (in thousands)	12,258,6	100.5	94.3	85.5
Cinemas				
Showings	973,235	97.4	94.8	88.5
Visitors (in thousands)	91,355,4	91.3	84.3	87.0
Museums				
Visitors (in thousands)	19,830.8	106.8	152.8	157.9
Concerts				
Number of concerts	6,971	93.7	99.1	95.4
Visitors (in thousands)	2,126	97.3	134.9	149.8

Source: GDR Statistical Yearbooks 1971, 1972, 1976, 1981, Berlin, Staatsverlag der DDR.

The higher demands result primarily from the close interaction between economic performance improvement and the efficacy of socialist culture and art. Indispensable conditions for the achievements by the working people in material production as well as in the scientific-technical sector are creativeness, pleasure in work, dedication, initiative, diligence, discipline, order and security. Culture and art have their specific contribution to make to the shaping of these traits.

"Our development makes ever more apparent how much the cultural level, intellectual-cultural life and dealing with art have an essential share in whether and how effectively our country's working people cope with the high requirements of the scientific-technical revolution--including its social consequences, and whether and how they acquire the ability to cope with most up-to-date technologies to make products that satisfy the highest technical parameters while they also are distinguished in terms of high aesthetic standards."<sup>3</sup>

The centerpiece of the cultural policy of the 10th SED Congress therefore lies in further elevating the cultural level of the workers class and in its creative efforts toward the development of the socialist culture and way of life.

The 10th FDGB Congress again emphasized that this policy be continued. This addresses many tasks which have also recently been introduced more into the discussion by the creators of and scientists in culture in theory and practice. For instance, the "work, learn and live socialistically" movement is eager to direct the working people in the enterprises still more at their creativeness, at product quality and reliability, and at the application of scientific-technical progress.

Cultural care and control in the enterprises as well as the residential areas and cultural opportunities must be fashioned in such a way that they still better conform with the specific needs of the workers class and are linked with its interests. That should also receive attention when we organize enterprise and workers' festivals. The further development of socialist work culture ought to be looked at as a complex and multilayered concern. It must more still contribute to solving problems that are so very important to the workers class such as organizing an uninhibited labor process, order and hygiene, and sound collective and management relations and a healthy and civilized manufacture of the tools of labor.

Closely connected with elevating the working class cultural level is the 10th party congress task to shape further the mass character and popular relevance of socialist culture and art, unfold the various talents and abilities in the population, especially those of youth, and develop with them and for them a rich, diversified and interesting intellectual-cultural life. A relevant and pertinent fashioning of life in its full wealth and range and variety of artistic genres and modes of expression is and remains the crucial art policy requirement. Another important cultural policy concern lies in the preservation, appropriation and further development of our cultural legacy and of the traditions. Not last, there also will be an important cultural policy task in the future in further shaping the internationalist content and character of our culture and art and in developing cultural cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

These tasks must consistently be taken care of in terms of the unity between economics and culture. The implementation of the economic strategy of the 10th party congress, to accomplish an unprecedented performance improvement under the changed internal and external reproduction conditions, is the direct economic prerequisite for implementing our ambitious cultural policy goals.

As in all other economic fields so also in the cultural field higher demands arise in the early 1980's for the sociocultural effectiveness and the economically most effective use of material, personnel and financial funds.

As Erich Honecker explained at the third SED Central Committee plenum, "in harmony with the material standard of living, the cultural also is being elevated steadily. For all public domains without exception the five-year draft plan contains task that make high demands. To take care of them, we must improve the cost/benefit ratio everywhere."<sup>4</sup> In view of the extensive

outlays from the state budget, the enterprises and the social organizations for cultural purposes, that economic policy demand has to be pondered still more than we have done with respect to the cultural field. The economic strategy issued by the 10th SED Congress demands many creative ideas of the cultural institutions on making better use of the planned and allocated resources in energy, fuels and propellants, material and equipment. For the planning phase as well as the process of plan implementation, what matters is to achieve a maximum of high-grade cultural opportunities by means of the funds available.

State budget allocations for satisfying the citizens' cultural needs more than doubled in the last 10 years and came to circa M 1.6 billion in 1980.<sup>5</sup>

In conformity with the priorities of socialist cultural policy and the changes taking place in the structure and rank of cultural needs, these funds were invested with discrimination. In the various areas, the growth rates between 1971 and 1980 (1971=100) amounted to: 141.2 percent for theaters, variety shows and cabarets; 268.5 percent for community halls and club houses; 109.3 percent for libraries; and 250.3 percent for museums and visual arts institutions.<sup>6</sup>

The scope and development tempo of funds to be allocated are in principle governed by the socialist cultural policy objective to give all citizens, regardless of their individual income, access to culture and art for a small admission fee (subsidized by the state) or free of charge. Right now, the people themselves pay only 16 percent of theater fees and circa 30 percent for events in the state-managed cultural field at large.

The considerable allocations from public funds are used to ensure performance quality and mainly for developing the numbers, structure and skills of the work force and for the material-technical base of the cultural field.

Considering that the chief support for socialist cultural work comes out of the public labor capacity invested, an increasing part of it has been placed in the cultural field in conformity with economic possibilities and cultural policy requirements. There has been a circa 21.2 percent increase in the number of people working in culture and art in comparison with 1970. This increase clearly surpasses that of the economy and even the non-producing domain at large (cf. Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2: Trend of Persons Working in Cultural and Art Institutions (in thousands)

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1980</u>
Culture and art at large	68,1	68,1	73,1	76,5	82,5
Film and television	12,9	12,4	12,2	11,9	11,8
Libraries	6,4	6,5	7,3	7,5	8,0
Theaters	17,7	17,9	18,4	18,4	18,6

Source: GDR Statistical Yearbooks 1971, 1973, 1976, 1978, 1981.

Table 3: Proportionate Increase of People Working in Culture and Art Institutions Compared with Non-producing Fields and the Economy at Large (in percent)

Year	Culture and Art Proportion in Non-producing Fields	Growth over 1975	Non-producing Fields Share of Economy	Fields Growth over 1975	Economy at Large, Growth over 1975
1976	4.9	3.4	19.3	2.2	0.9
1977	4.9	4.7	19.5	4.0	1.4
1978	4.9	6.8	19.7	5.7	2.1
1979	5.0	11.6	19.9	7.9	3.0
1980	5.0	12.9	20.1	9.1	3.5

Source: GDR Statistical Yearbooks 1977-1981.

Besides the number of the manpower made available, the network of cultural institutions and the fashion in which they are equipped have a significant influence on the scope and quality of cultural need satisfaction. Compared with other countries, the GDR has a very fine and multifaceted network of cultural institutions, considering the number of its inhabitants and the size of its territory.

Ever since the GDR was founded has the material-technical foundation for the cultural field been systematically developed through a targeted investment policy.

Allocations for investment and value preservation measures clearly increased in recent years. From 1976 to 1980, e.g., twice as much was invested in culture as in the 1971-1975 period. These funds were used for rebuilding or reconstruction of nationally representative projects, e.g. the place of the academy in Berlin, the new Gewandhaus in Leipzig, and the renovation of the Semper Opera House in Dresden. Allocations also rose for the preservation of cultural institutions. The continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR raises higher demands also in the field of culture. It mainly amounts to encouraging the development of the people's cultural needs and interests. Surveys on the use made of cultural opportunities indicate that there is, to be sure, a steady increase in the number of those who attend cultural institutions like theaters, cinemas, museums, libraries and community halls, yet a considerable sector of the population does so only to a minor extent (for theaters, the proportion is, for instance, only circa 60 percent). And then there also are strong contrasts among the social groups of the population, between workers and employees and then again between workers and employees on the one side and cooperative farmers, on the other. There are various causes for all that. For further molding the working people's cultural needs and interests it is decisive how well we succeed in further molding creativeness in the labor process and further reducing labor impediments. But also improving cultural opportunities in the workers' centers and in the countryside would greatly help further reduce disparities among the social groups.



Shaping a variety of "facilities, abilities and enjoyments" of all working people is a direct goal of the further development of the socialist personality and of the socialist way of life. But also, and especially, from this there arise considerable demands for the cultural and artistic development.

As the 10th SED Congress, based on analyses of the socioeconomic conditions, demanded that labor economy must be improved everywhere, it is to be made clear how that demand is to be implemented in the cultural field, too. This would certainly not mean admitting any curtailment of artistic quality. But it does mean that the great expense has to be justified by great artistic achievement and a massive effectiveness, with proper attention also given to enforcing novelties. It follows from the resolutions on the 1981-1985 five-year plan that allocations for the cultural sector will more or less be on the level of the previous five-year plan period.

That is again quite a lot. All cultural domains have to reach their higher goals and solve their demanding tasks with more or less the same or only slightly higher funds. Responsibly dealing with these funds in terms of cultural and economic policy is an indispensable prerequisite for it.

A tough situation mainly exists with respect to the material-technical base for the cultural institutions. Their age and their in part valuable structures and the wear and tear of their technical installations and so forth will also in the future require that much be spent on their effective upkeep. Some 40 percent of the basic assets in state cultural institutions pertains to buildings built before 1900. It will be important in coming years to ensure the functionality of many institutions through systematic preservation and maintenance and to improve working conditions as they are step by step.

In the 1981-1985 five-year plan, investments for the cultural sector are going to be applied in a concentrated fashion to completing central construction projects of national and international importance that were started (the Semper Opera House, the Friedrichstadt Palais, the Platz der Akademie, the German Theater and the Kammerspiele). Investments left over will not suffice to ensure a simple reproduction of most of the cultural institutions. Concentrating economic resources on material production, to enforce the economic strategy of the 10th SED Congress, is the only possible way for allocating more investments to the cultural sector in the future as well. There can thus be no other task at present but to use better still what we have and to resort to the opportunities of other claimants (commerce, restaurants, public education, sports).

Intricate tasks are confronting also the specific reproduction of the labor capacity in the cultural sector. It is typical of sociocultural sectors that their performance and performance development largely depend on the number of manpower, its structure and its qualifications. As in the past, the work force in the cultural sector is going to increase in the future, too. Yet here also needs, despite the great efforts made toward intensifying the public labor capacity, will increase still much faster. That is mainly due to the fact that cultural opportunities, as already explained, have to be expanded in various fields but cultural needs newly to be satisfied are also arising.

The main thrust of the efforts and deliberations relating to the fulfilment of the tasks assigned to the cultural sector and to a solution of the complicated problems should go toward improving the cost/benefit ratio.

A cost/benefit analysis of the last 10 years shows that costs rose faster than benefits (which is also true of the other sociocultural sectors). No oversimplified conclusions ought to be drawn from that, however, in that some theoretical and practical problems impinge on the precise indicators for cultural achievements, quantitatively and qualitatively.

--First one must consider, when one looks at this complex, that more money spent on the cultural social sectors certainly indicate improved achievements, e.g. if through increasing and improving the qualifications of manpower the cultural tutelage over the population was improved in quality or in case that material-technical conditions could be reconstructed. That is not going to be reflected always by a higher number of attendants, visitors or users.

--Faster growing allocations also are due to the cost trends in sectors or in fields that are needed for the production of cultural achievements. For the cultural sector, that required allocation increases for maintaining and expanding the material-technical base, for material and energy and, as far as work force assignments were concerned, in consequence of urgently needed wage policy measures.

--Greater costs compared with benefits can also arise from that, first of all, a certain capacity has to be in place before there can be any achievements or any improvement of achievements. When libraries increased their accessions it did not automatically increase loans. There are normally time limits for such processes.

--Finally, the causes for a faster growth of costs than benefits may lie in an insufficient regard for the connection between cultural policy and economic work. That may be the case when very expensive performances are attended by only few people.

So one finds various causes for a faster increase of costs than benefits; they have to be examined discriminately. To improve the ratio, one needs accurate surveys on certain objectively necessary ongoing processes, which then must be distinguished from others that are economically unjustified. What makes things hard here is that no satisfactory definition has yet been given for what is meant by cultural achievement and how that can be reflected as accurately as possible, quantitatively and qualitatively. In addition to more attention to be given to it in the management and planning process of the appropriate responsible organs, institutions and enterprises in the future, we must significantly enhance the work on the nature and economy of labor in the cultural sector. It is necessary more precisely to examine the ways the economic laws of socialism function in the cultural sector in order to be able to support more strongly the great practical efforts toward a higher cultural policy effectiveness by an efficient utilization of available funds.

## On the Status and Object of Research on Cultural Economy

The GDR, other socialist countries and within the framework of UNESCO, economic research has in various respects recently been strengthened on the economic problems of cultural development. Some socialist countries--the USSR, the CSSR, Hungary and Poland--have systematically engaged for some time in economic research on culture. Results on that have been published, in the USSR by Dadamyan Mokhov, Punanov; in the CSSR by Novotny and Vike; in Hungary by Koncz and Kuti; and in the GDR, among others, by E. Rohde. It is necessary to organize this complex and independent culture-economic research not from the vantage point of distinct disciplines (e.g. the finance economy, the labor economy, the economy of consumption and of the standard of living) or to explore economic problems merely from the standpoint of distinct cultural sectors (e.g. the film economy, the theater economy, the economy of library affairs).

Experience demonstrates that exclusively in that way a theoretical development cannot be ensured for practical management and planning in the cultural sector in its entirety. With the increasing social importance of the sociocultural sector and the formation of appropriate science disciplines (as the economy of public health, the economy of the educational system), it seems to us, also for the cultural sector the question arises about further refining the theoretical basis for improving the cultural policy and economic effectiveness of management and planning both on the central and local level.<sup>7</sup>

Publications extant in the GDR and other socialist countries therefore are in accord in expressing the view that systematic and effective work in this field must go hand in hand with setting up an independent economic discipline--cultural economics in the sense of an economic branch discipline. That demand is well called for, even though it cannot be ignored that because of an only inadequate political-economic and theoretical scientific penetration of the non-producing sphere or its sociocultural sector, the questions about a scientific economic systematization and the problems in defining the subject that have to do with it have not been very much clarified as yet in the different disciplines.

In conformity with the current state of knowledge one should therefore stress less the independence of the branch discipline of cultural economics but rather its being part of the emerging "economics of the sociocultural sector." More theoretical work in cultural economics must be done mainly with respect to determining its subject matter and in close cooperation with the political economy and the Marxist-Leninist science of culture. In the prevailing phase of opinion molding, there is one predominant question connected with the formation of any sort of science discipline, and that pertains to its scientific subject matter. Pronouncements by the science of culture available on the general connection between economics and culture form an indispensable foundation for it.<sup>8</sup> And then there are also many longtime practical experiences in the management and planning of culture.

The starting point for all deliberations is a definition of the culture concept found suitable for economic research: "In talking about culture and

cultural tasks in the developed socialist society, we are not referring to any strictly confined field. We are concerned with the totality of living conditions, the material and intellectual values, ideas and knowledge, by the appropriation of which men in company with others become mature capable, educated and convinced builders of socialism and truly socialist personalities."<sup>9</sup> This approach to the definition of culture becomes the general foundation for all cultural economics deliberations. However, as this culture concept is very broad, a theoretically established demarcation or systematization of the levels to be explored is needed on the basis of which the economic problems of cultural processes have to be examined. If culture is defined as "one side of the social life process in all domains of society and social activity,"<sup>10</sup> it is tough to approach as the subject matter of scientific economic research. The necessary theoretical preliminaries for solving this problem have come from John among others. He considers that, with all the complexity of social phenomena and the need to take account of them in management activity, all social relations, processes and so forth in a certain respect have dominant components. Therefore John in this connection between politics, economics and culture speaks of specific social phenomena that have a predominant cultural quality and are therefore managed by appropriate functional organs.<sup>11</sup> In that sense then there is a "dominance of cultural quality" in the economic branch of culture and art, the function of which lies directly in the satisfaction of cultural needs. One must clearly differentiate between the theoretically established culture concept, and thus between culture as an overall cultural requirement, on the one side, and, on the other, the social culture area as a branch of the economy that is integrated in the economic reproduction process in terms of its capacity and personnel, materially, technically and financially, to ensure the cultural tutelage of the population.

In this respect the culture sector is comparable to public health. In public health economics, analogously, one must distinguish between health protection as a basic overall social requirement and public health as a branch of the economy.

The branch of culture and art at this time includes circa 20,000 facilities which make this sector extremely heterogeneous because they differ in size, character and legal position. It includes libraries, community halls and club houses, cinemas, museums, theaters, zoological gardens, domestic animal gardens, music conservatories, art colleges and technical schools, science institutions and so forth. These facilities fall under various spheres of responsibility. Most of the branch of culture and art belongs to the network of cultural institutions in the area of responsibility of the minister for culture and of the local people's representations. Furthermore it includes the cultural facilities in other areas of the economy (e.g. enterprise community halls and libraries) and of the social organizations.

In addition to those facilities, the area of responsibility of the minister for culture also includes a number of producing enterprises. In its totality this sector (including facilities and enterprises under the jurisdiction of local people's representations) is called the state-managed cultural sector. Typical of it is that producing and non-producing processes are managed and planned through coordination.

Cultural economics as a science discipline seeks its area of investigation in the non-producing processes and, hence, in the economic branch of culture and art. The crucial criterion for determining its fundamental subject matter is the predominant character of social labor expended. Of most cultural performance it is typical that it is aimed directly at need satisfaction and produces no material product. Therefore the vast majority of cultural needs taken care of in cultural institutions are satisfied as "intrinsic values" in the form of services produced as the outcome of concrete social labor expended. The basic economic function of labor in the cultural institutions under the socioeconomic conditions of socialism therefore lies in the social utility of its services and performance, service being understood as a "specific expression for labor's specific intrinsic value in so far as this serves not as an object but as an activity."<sup>12</sup>

Consequently, the cultural performance process is in essence a custodial process addressed at man directly that produces achievements with specific cultural policy and cultural results (even if not immediately measurable ones).

Due to the specific economic conditions of this custodial process, cultural economics like public health economics and other branch economics of the sociocultural sector, from the political-economic as well as the science-theoretical vantage point, is a non-productive labor economics. This, on the other hand, does not prevent cultural economics from investigating the specific connections between the production of cultural goods and cultural services in the satisfaction of cultural needs. Especially the need for enhancing the complexity of planning in the ministry for culture requires a scientific penetration of the theoretical and practical problems that are linked with it.

#### Tasks of Cultural Economics

Cultural economics generally explores the substance and the conditions for the effect and utilization of economic laws in the cultural sector of the economy where the personnel, material and financial prerequisites for taking care of the population culturally, the elevation of the working people's cultural level, the development of artistic culture, the appropriation and preservation of the cultural heritage and so forth are handled; that is to say, the sector which specifically, primarily or exclusively deals with creating cultural opportunities.

So cultural economics must not be reduced to the tasks resulting from the allocation of funds, but it is an active instrument of socialist cultural policy. It explores the economic laws with the purpose of rendering the conditions for their conscious utilization ever more favorable and of exhausting all the possibilities of such conscious utilization, so as to combine the solution of ever more ambitious cultural tasks and requirements with the most effective use of economic means.

Specifically, cultural economics has to fulfil two essential tasks.

The first task lies in establishing and justifying, while proceeding from cultural tasks and requirements, the economic means required. That presupposes on the one

hand very thorough investigations into the scope, quality and structure of cultural tasks developing with their particular economic consequences. On the other hand, it is necessary to undertake an integration of the cultural sectors with the overall social reproduction process and its political and economic goals. Account has to be taken here of the relations between production and the use of the national income, especially of the accumulation/consumption ratio, of the proportionality of the entire reproduction process, especially of the proportions between the producing and non-producing sectors and, within the non-producing sectors, between the sociocultural and the other areas, and even of the requirements for the proportionate development of the cultural and social sectors themselves. By way of summary that means, cultural economics must determine the necessary and the possible, whereby it decisively affects the effectiveness of the cultural sectors from the start.

The second task of cultural economics lies in its contribution to the further perfecting of the management and planning of the connection between politics and economics in sectors that directly exercise cultural functions, especially in the cultural institutions that are directly responsible to the ministry for culture. This complex task essentially comprises the

- further perfecting of long-range and medium-range planning and of the annual planning of cultural achievements with their requisite investments of funds and the analytic-prognostic work done as an essential prerequisite for it;
- development of such methods and management and planning tools that ensure a favorable cost/benefit ratio and, thus, high effectiveness of the social work of the cultural sectors;
- further improvement of the economy of the material-technical base (network structure, structural conditions, equipment), the economy of labor capacity assignment including cadre training and advanced training and the materials and energy management;
- further perfection of the management of cultural institutions and their financing, and of the analysis of the results achieved, especially by providing a better visibility and rating of achievements and allocations; and
- further development of the legal premises in accordance with cultural policy and cultural economic requirements.

#### On Further Perfecting Management and Planning in the Cultural Sector

In substance, the goal of further perfecting management and planning in the cultural sector lies in improving there also the economic work in terms of the unity of politics, culture and economics. Here one has to pay special attention to what is specific in the connection between cultural policy requirements and the allocation according to plan and the efficient use of material and financial funds.

The function of culture in socialist society for the cultural sector assigns a dominance of cultural requirements compared with economic processes. Planning takes care of that by strongly focusing on the substantive priorities in cultural activity. Planning in the cultural sector largely goes to goals verbally assigned which on all management levels serve as guideline for enforcing the principles of the state's cultural policy. One accomplishment of socialism, after all, lies in the uniformity of goals and contents in social, and so also in cultural, development, ensured by the mandatory emphases governing the entire cultural sector.



The substantive tasks therefore have to be drawn up most responsibly. Equal account has to be taken of the population's ripened cultural needs and of the social objectives and conditions for enforcing the socialist way of life.

Requirements in cultural policy are important tools for substantive planning on the central level; they are normally prepared for 2 years at a time. They are rendered concrete in response to specific requirements from the various technical fields and management levels and are made specific in the annual cultural plans of the territorial organs and in the task planning of cultural institutions. This approach to the planning of the cultural sector documents the attitude of principle by the social order toward men's needs and interests. Economic means are allocated with the idea of fostering culture and art and satisfying the cultural needs that exist.

Although plan targets in the cultural sector are mostly assigned verbally, it does not preclude the application of parameters for qualifying the targets in cultural policy work, in fact it requires them. They, as it were, give quantitative expression to the cultural policy objectives. Therefore the planning of achievements and of capacities is a necessary element of the entire cultural policy management process.

The further perfecting of achievement planning gives rise to problems resulting from the nature of services by non-producing sectors and concerning the practical aspect of parametric planning, stimulation and accounting. Generating and consuming cultural achievements go together directly and thus cannot be separated in time or space. As the user's leeway is much wider for cultural services than when he resorts to other services, he can more easily do without them if they are not up to par. That has its own consequences of course, not only for the attention that has to be given to qualitative factors in the shaping and planning of cultural opportunities, but also for the utilization intensity and the effect of cultural achievements and capacities in the quantitative respect.

Another characteristic of cultural services is that their intrinsic value--the direct satisfaction of cultural needs--cannot be expressed in terms of parameters, so that it is not directly measurable. Here one must resort to surrogate indicators such as the number of visitors of theaters, museums or fairs for quantitative or sociological surveys to get to a qualitative judgment. Another consequence then is that a surplus in capacities and performances and higher economic outlays for them need not be reflected in measurable cultural policy effects. That makes economic work in the cultural sector tough also because, vice versa, from cultural policy requirements one cannot always derive precisely the economic means necessary for them.

Through introducing the task plan,<sup>13</sup> the performance and capacity planning has been perfected in the following direction:

- Ensuring a uniform and mandatory enforcement of qualitative and quantitative aspects in determining cultural policy priorities;
- ensuring a target-directed development of the supply degree in taking care of the population culturally, especially with regard to ensuring a proportionate development for overcoming level differences among the territories;

--guiding cultural institutions toward using funds rationally and attaining high achievements;  
--improved rating and evaluation of the work done by comparable cultural institutions; and  
--further extension of the bases for conduction competition and for the moral and material incentives for the working people in those institutions.

The theoretical insights and practical experiences gained entered the planning methodology for the 1976-1980 five-year plan period issued in 1974.<sup>14</sup> The purpose of its expansion of the performance and capacity parameters lay in an adequate and more complex reflection of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of real cultural processes by parameters for the purpose of having the state exercise a target-directed central influence. One step among others in this direction was including the most important cultural achievements and capacities of the enterprises and social organizations in the planning process of the state-managed cultural sector. In practice, the plan preparation indicated, however, that not all parameters of this planning order stood up completely. There were various reasons for that, such as a limited stimulation functionality of the parameters, or too little dynamism in the cultural processes reflected by the parameters. Appropriate conclusions were drawn from it and taken into account when the parameter nomenclature was revised for the planning order of the 1981-1985 five-year planning period.<sup>15</sup> In conformity with that planning order, bezirk councils are annually handed 11 performance and capacity development parameters as official quotas. Along with these planning parameters directive in nature, the management and planning process relies on additional information parameters handled through statistical reporting.

A problem borne out in practice is that on the one hand, to cope with ever more complex contexts, there is a great need for information but that, on the other, a wealth of information remains unused. Part of that is even meaningless because it has no bearing either on ideological argumentation or on the practice of management and planning.

The causes for that in particular are that cultural statistics, as far as its conception, the development of analytical survey methods and so forth are concerned, has not kept pace with the level of general statistics. There are no bases for a sound system of cultural statistics. In contrast to other branches in the sociocultural sector (public health, for instance), pertinent systematic work in the cultural sector is done only in exceptional cases (e.g. in library affairs).

For that reason, theory and practice have to address two closely connected tasks:

(1) For effectively rationalizing managerial and administrative work, reporting must be limited to what is absolutely necessary. Doing without all that is superfluous requires a number of ideological and substantive-organizational prerequisites. They range from a departure from obsolete routine all the way to creating more rational management relations and structures.

(2) The level of analytical work to discover cultural-economic connections must be raised step by step. Mainly through stronger economic analysis must the preconditions be further improved in the future and further performance improvement reserves must be tapped that way.



The last-mentioned task is mainly of great importance for improving standardization. Standardization in the cultural sector largely controls the improvement of the cost/benefit ratio beyond its prevailing status.

Proceeding from best examples, the norms for cultural institutions working under comparable conditions are state standards and requirements for achieving optimum cultural policy and cultural accomplishments with personnel, material and financial funds allocated according to plan.

Though there is no denying the objective need to improve the planning process and plan implementation this way, we must not ignore the specific conditions of performance processes in the cultural sector.

If in other branches of the sociocultural sector a much larger share of the budgetary income and expenditures is governed by investment criteria, for instance, objective reasons exist for it. Compared with that, nailing down the cost/benefit ratio in institutions of the cultural sector is vastly more complicated.

With reference to that and to uneven cost/benefit ratios in various sectors, lack of attention to this problem as an object of scientific investigations is often being justified in theory and practice. The problems hiding behind that are no reasons to prevent us but rather to take account of the specifics of a cost/benefit ratio analysis in the cultural sector. And that also is the reason why, in connection with performance financing, all that has been experienced here has to be thoroughly analyzed and made the basis for our further efforts.

Suitable measures keep creating in the cultural sector the preconditions for a more efficient use of the available material-technical base and personnel and financial funds.

Right now, under the responsibility of the ministry for culture, targeted measures are being taken in close cooperation with science institutions. Along with checking into the relevance and effectiveness of existing institution-specific individual norms, the job now mainly is to create an effective normative base for management and planning on the level of central state organs and the bezirk councils. Norms have to be assigned to volume planning in large expenditure positions such as the wage funds, material or productive achievements. Such centrally directed planning norms are economic criteria for essential types of expenditures in the cultural sector and are meant to affect the drop in expenditures for material, energy and other purposes. This also makes it possible that accounting on the implementation of the budget plans can be used better than before to see whether norms were complied with or not.

In working out the norms one has to base them on the outlays by those comparable institutions that handled their allocations most economically and efficiently. The goal must be to reduce or eliminate unjustified differences in expenditures by the comparable institutions in the various bezirks and kreises.

Without detriment to that general objective, it is absolutely necessary to keep in mind that

- the decisive criterion for working with norms is improving the quality and ideological effectiveness of cultural and artistic achievements;
- opportunities given the population must not be diminished;
- cultural institutions often perform under personnel, material-technical and territorial demands and conditions that are hard to compare;
- the institutions cannot always directly affect the use made of what they have to offer;
- the inevitable connections in the trend of expenditures must be differentiated from effects resulting from the solution of certain topical tasks, partly even from a need to catch up, or from factors violating the socialist thrift principle; and
- the structure of expenditure trends is in part highly dynamic (cf. Table 4), for which reason norms have to be updated in conformity with these changes.

Table 4: Trends of Proportions of Selected Expenditures Compared With Overall Expenditures for Culture and Art (in percent)

	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>
Total Expenditures (without investments)	100	100	100	100	100	100
of which:						
Preservation	8.38	8.67	9.27	9.87	9.38	10.34
Wage Funds	34.51	34.51	33.77	33.29	33.12	33.56
Money Spent on Population	13.18	13.96	14.69	14.89	15.20	15.28
Material	10.28	11.30	11.29	11.23	11.21	10.58

Moreover, in further work done with norms one ought to proceed from the experiences of recent years; they indicate that work with norms must not be confined to the financial expenditures because close connections or dependencies exist among the material, personnel and financial norms.

That makes the preparation of norms another priority for the use of manpower. Up to now in this field we have had most positive experiences in the field of official public libraries. The Central Institute for Library Affairs has come out with basic guidelines for planning personnel in public libraries. Such norms have the function of slotting standards which makes acceptable personnel requirements possible. Improving personnel planning largely depends on preparing such norms that take account of the differentiated tasks and specific services in the institutions and of the technical and other conditions of the work. Jobs which should reflect personnel requirements in conformity with cultural policy no longer have that function in many institutions. Often a subjective interpretation decides how much personnel is needed. In practice this brings it about that comparable institutions employ unequal numbers of personnel not justified.

Norms should be mainly prepared and applied where in the practice of cultural and economic activities comparable and repetitive processes take place. That mainly applies to subsidiary processes (like management and administration). And that is where the emphasis should be placed in our further work with norms.

An efficient utilization, in terms of cultural policy and economics, of the funds in the cultural sector furthermore greatly depends on how well one succeeds in planning fund utilization on the basis of more long-range conceptions.

The fact is that ~~and~~ every expenditure in public funds ~~that ignores~~ the long-range developmental trend of individual and social cultural interests means that future requirements will not be satisfied. The need for more long-range planning follows directly from the nature of cultural processes of a more long-range and strategic character.

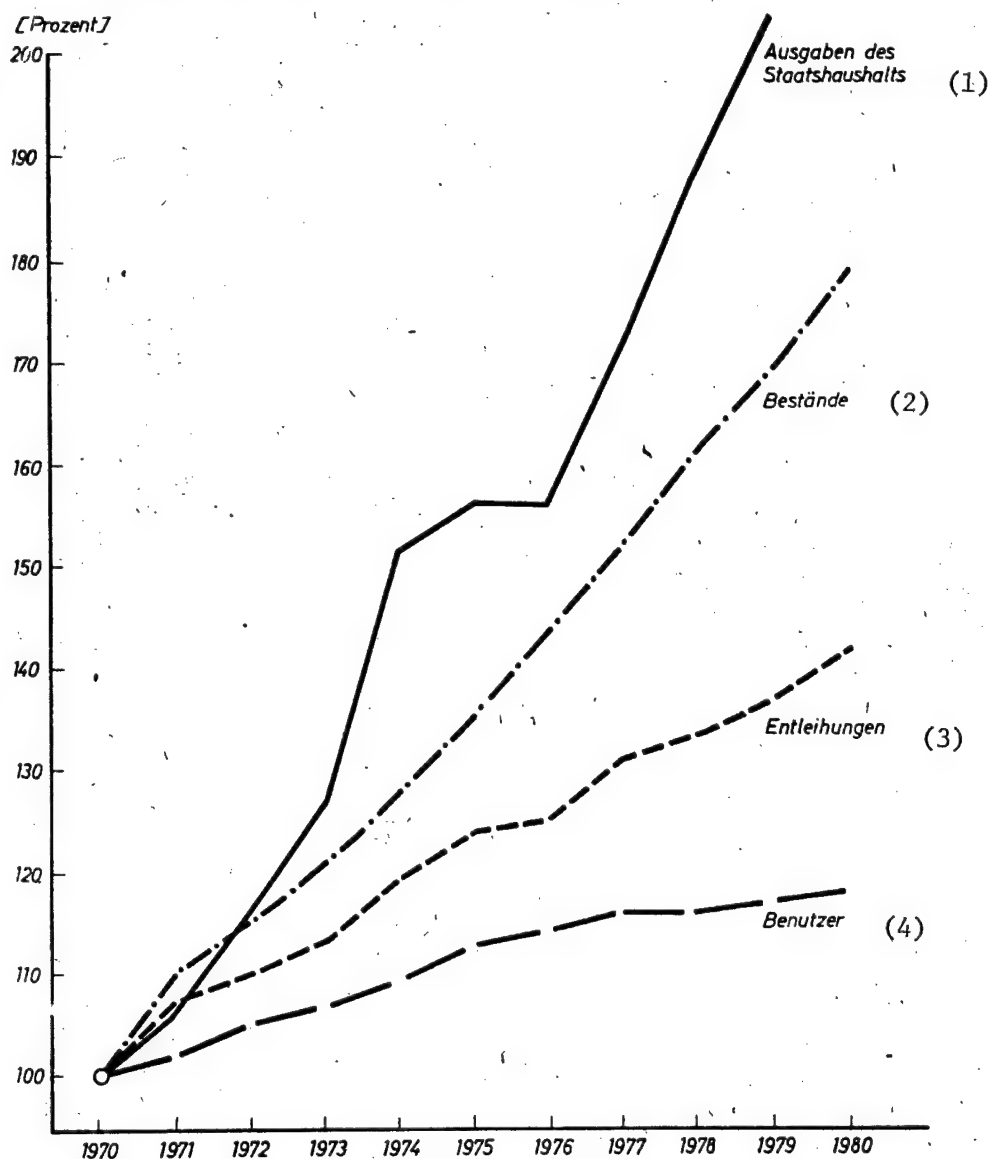
Cultural needs and habits do not change from one day to the next. It is properly being pointed out, therefore, that cultural processes are per se long-range, with effects that become apparent only after a longer period of time, as they enter men's lives only gradually. So the conditions for enforcing socialist culture also have to be shaped prognostically. Thus the need for more long-range planning results from that current cultural policy and economic decisions have to be made with an eye to the intellectual-cultural needs they are to satisfy in the future. The practical consequence of that is that the quantitative and qualitative developmental tendencies of cultural needs must be explored for a period of some 10 to 15 years and the prerequisites for satisfying them must be prepared on as long-range a basis as that. In the field of culture quite successful long-range work has been done for years, so that we have perfectly safe assumptions now about the chief developmental tendencies in the cultural field.

In working with long-range conceptual ideas on the development of the cultural sector it also became apparent, however, that its tasks in need satisfaction cannot be resolved independent of other social and economic claimants to the satisfaction of cultural needs. While there is already a high degree of correlation and cooperation, more suitable managerial and planning method prerequisites have still to be created for it.

There are certain methodological difficulties here--due to what "culture" means specifically--in unambiguously determining the population's cultural needs and combining them all-inclusively. When in such a "culture" complex of needs cultural needs are accounted for in their complex and objective reciprocal interdependence and explored in their objective developmental tendencies, it could become an important tool for long-range planning, provided that the economic consequences are determined at the same time. A precise knowledge of economic requirements permits a still better correlation with economic parameters and thereby a still more cogent definition of what may be allocated in economic means for the satisfaction of cultural needs within a given planning period.

Furthermore, such a "culture" need complex would be apt to correlate more precisely still the tasks of the various claimants to need satisfaction (the state-managed cultural sector of the ministry for culture, the State Radio Committee, the State Television Committee, the combines and enterprises, the parties and social organizations, domestic consumer goods trade) and provide this way for a still better long-range orientation in the cultural sector.

Illustration 1: Trend of number of users, loans and accessions in State General Libraries and state budget expenditures for these institutions



Key:

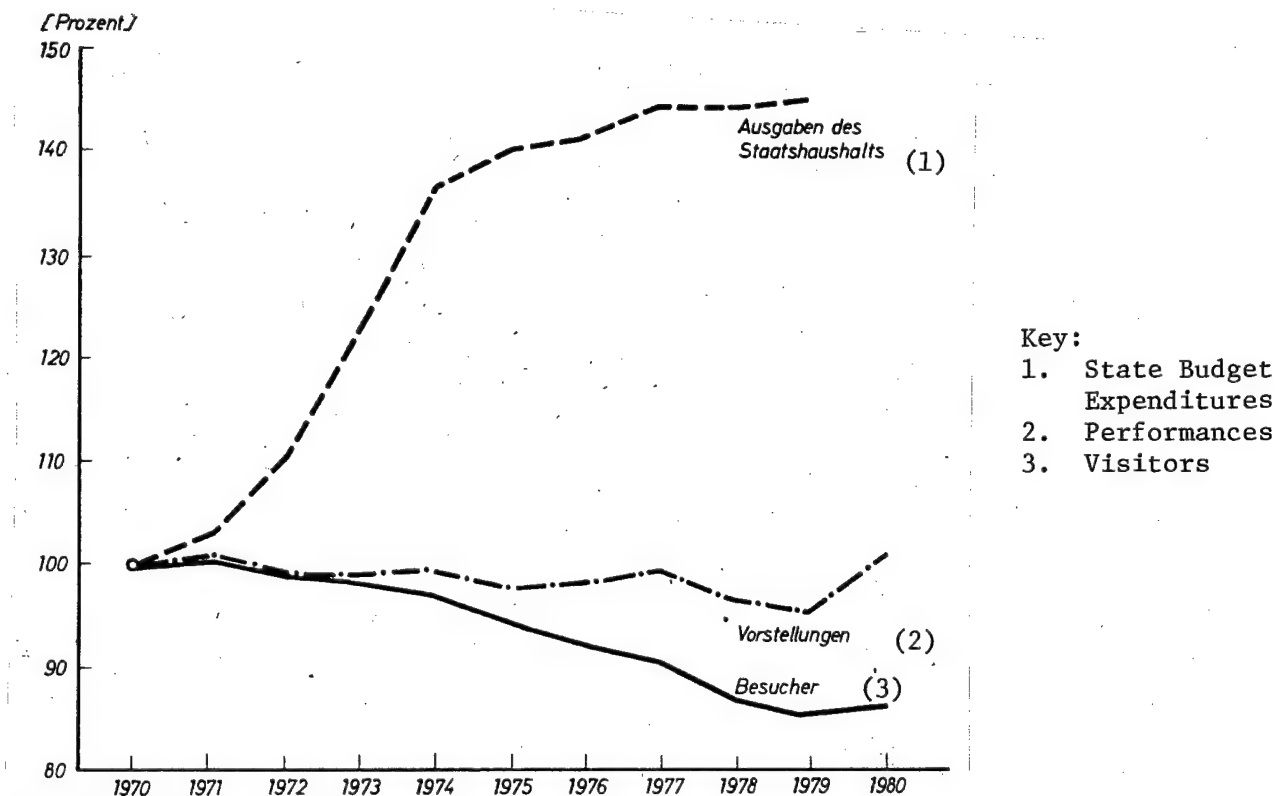
1. State budget expenditures
2. Accessions
3. Loans
4. Users

On the territorial level, the more long-range conceptions for the management and planning activity of the bezirk councils are a proven form of prognostic work established in management practice. They contain the fundamental tasks and objectives for the development of intellectual-cultural life in the territory. More and more such conceptions must include considerations such as for how long an extensive network of cultural institutions must be ensured to function. Even though in the 1970's investment and preservation allocations rose considerably for the sector of culture and art, the preservation, reconstruction and re-building measures can become effective only over the long run, especially since new projects (and not only those that are historically valuable) require new construction measures.

As resources are of course limited and expenses rise, long-range work aiming at, largely, preserving the network structure of GDR cultural institutions is of great importance.

Yet not only with regard to the investment and preservation measures but also with respect to the development of the labor capacity in the cultural sector, the demands are increasing that are made on the quality of long-range work. This problem becomes most apparent in the training of artists. Due to their high degree of specialization, their training must be long-range and target-directed. That places high demands on long-range manpower planning in this sector.

Illustration 2: Trend of Budget Expenditures for Theaters, Variety Shows and Cabarets, number of performances and number of visitors



# FOOTNOTES

1. Sixth SED Central Committee Plenum, K. Hager, "Zu Fragen der Kulturpolitik der SED" (On Questions of SED Cultural Policy), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972, p 13.
2. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der SED an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 105.
3. H. J. Hoffmann and W. Kuehn, "For a High Aesthetic Culture," EINHEIT, No 4/5, 1981, p 463.
4. E. Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 3. Tagung des Zentralkomitees der SED" (Excerpts from the Politburo Report to the Third SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 29.
5. Cf. "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1981," Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1981, p 253.
6. Cf. *ibid.*
7. This demand mainly is to be given emphasis with respect to perfecting the basic and advanced training for economists in the cultural sector. Economists for economic activities in the cultural sector are going to be trained, as of 1 September 1982, at the Bruno Leuschner College for Economics, Berlin, in a new department, "Economics in the Sociocultural Sector."
8. Cf. E. John, "Zur Planung kultureller Prozesse" (On the Planning of Cultural Processes), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978; cf. N. Mader, "Theoretical-Methodological Foundations for Defining the Relationship Between Economics and Culture in the Developed Socialist Society," WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER HOCHSCHULE FUER OEKONOMIE 'BRUNO LEUSCHNER' BERLIN, No 1, 1979, pp 38 ff; cf. J. Kuczynski and W. Heise, "Bild und Begriff" (Image and Concept), Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1975, pp 355 ff.
9. Sixth SED Central Committee Plenum, *op. cit.*, p 10.
10. "Grundlagen des historischen Materialismus" (Principles of Historical Materialism), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 706.
11. Cf. E. John, *op. cit.*, p 33.
12. K. Marx, "Theories on Surplus Value," K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke" (Works), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1956-1968, Vol 26/1, p 379.
13. Cf. "Plan Preparation Guideline for the Tasks in the Cultural Sector," VERFUEGUNGEN UND MITTEILUNGEN DES MINISTERIUMS FUER KULTUR, No 2, 1974, pp 21 ff.

14. Cf. "Decree on the Order and Planning of the GDR Economy 1976-1980, of 28 November 1974," GESETZBLATT DER DDR, No 775 a (Special Issue).
15. Cf. "Decree on the Order and Planning of the GDR Economy 1981-1985, of 28 November 1979," *ibid.*, No 1020 (Special Issue).

5885

CSO: 2300/61

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GROUND FORCES CHIEF URGES GREATER USE OF NEW TRAINING DEVICES

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 130, 5 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, deputy minister for national defense and chief, ground forces: "Great Demands in Combat Training"]

[Text] The daily struggle by military personnel for a high degree of combat strength and combat readiness is even now, under the new, worsened conditions of imperialist confrontation policy, one of the most important prerequisites for the reliable fulfillment at all times of the class mission received by the GDR's party of the workers class. Especially in combat training, in unison with the political education of military personnel, is military knowledge and ability solidified. The present degree of modernization of our strike forces presents constantly increasing demands.

Modern weapons, technical means of warfare, leadership, reconnaissance and transportation, give to the divisions a high degree of mobility, maneuverability, fire and assault power. They change the character, forms and methods of armed combat and increase the role and responsibility of the individual and of small collectives significantly.

Increased Capacity

Making full use of the capacity and potential of military technology, with all its electronic components and its often complex technical construction, the demands increased requirements on the military and military-technical knowledge and ability of military personnel, as well as their political-moral character and steadfastness.

This would require a longer training time. However, that is not possible--on the contrary, it has decreased, relatively speaking, in relation to the weapons, weapon systems and devices to be mastered. The fact that we nevertheless successfully solve the demanding training tasks, we owe to the increased ability and good will of military personnel, in whom our socialist society has instilled a high level of consciousness and education as well as solid vocational training, and who gained important prerequisites for their honorable service in the general military and career training of the Society for Sports and Technology.



The main method of teaching the necessary increase in military knowledge, ability and skills of military personnel and collectives consists in more intense combat training. This purpose is also served by the increased development and introduction of modern training aids, especially simulators and training devices. With the use of microelectronics and other products of the scientific-technical revolution, these devices offer the real possibility of transmitting more knowledge, ability and skills per training hour than before.

In contrast to the actual technology, these training devices and simulators offer more training slots for the simultaneous training of several individuals. They allow for systematic training. Difficult training elements or those not yet mastered can be repeated and practiced at will, and it is possible to select various degrees of difficulty and to portray a variety of combat situations realistically, up to a point.

The modern devices render training more vivid, allow a trainee more complete and more precise information and contribute to developing his activity and independence. Control and measuring devices register and signal every single negligence, inattentiveness and every mistake of the trainee and make it possible to measure and evaluate every step of training with precision.

Today, e.g., crews for antitank guided missiles are trained on simulators, which allow for firing on suddenly appearing and moving targets at various distances and in various sizes under many different circumstances. Driver training devices already exist in a fairly large number, and the effects of weapons are realistically portrayed with the help of optoelectronic installations during tactical training and field maneuvers.

#### Practical Training With Decreasing Material Waste

In addition, the modern training devices are more economical, because many elements of training can first be practiced in the classroom. While the actual technology is used less, they still allow for complete training and contribute toward a saving in time, transportation, fuel and technical expenses. By using a gasturbine simulator for the ground forces antiaircraft defense, e.g., practical training has increased from 3 to 97 percent, the operational hour limits have been lowered by 99 percent, and expenses per training hour have been reduced considerably.

With such results, the ground forces confirm the dictum of the Fourth SED Central Committee session that it is the will to be not only a good soldier, but also a smart economizer, which determines to an ever greater extent all thinking and acting.

In numerous cases, training devices and simulators are built by the manufacturers at the same time as the actual technology. The scientific-technical installations of the NVA, in cooperation with the scientific and production potential concentrated in industry, are also making greater efforts in furthering the development of modern training devices. We are very grateful to management, engineers, and workers of our people-owned industry for their understanding of the important mission of our socialist national defense.

PEOPLE'S POLICE SCHOOL'S TRAINING METHODS DESCRIBED

Karl-Marx-Stadt FREIE PRESSE in German 13 Oct 82 p 6

[Article by Klaus Mueller: "Young People's Policemen Are Learning for the Protection of the Citizens: The People's Police School in Zwickau-Planitz Provides Comprehensive Knowledge and Teaches Responsible Action"]

[Text] Without much hesitation, Police Lieutenant Hans-Joachim Eckardt had jumped into the water-filled ditch. Literally at the very last moment he pulled the small, blonde, totally exhausted head from the deadly, icy water. The officer had been alarmed by the cries for help of a slender, young woman. Later, he himself did not know any more exactly how he had managed to get out of the deep hole without a ladder, carrying the 4-year old boy in his arms; only that the woman had helped him as well as she could. She also took the strange little boy home with her for the time being. From his apartment nearby, Lt. Eckardt then notified his headquarters, which took over from there....

30 newly hired people's policemen in the people's police school in Zwickau-Planitz listened attentively to their teacher's detailed account of this rescue, which had occurred in the "Fritz Heckert" new housing development in Karl-Marx-Stadt.

Practice as Part of the Curriculum

Breaktime. The young men graduating from the basic course after several months in Zwickau-Planitz have a lively conversation about what they have just heard. On one side of the large rectangular inner courtyard, they debate about courage, a sense of responsibility and quick reactions. How would I act, they ask themselves. Comparisons to other examples are made.

Practice as school. Teaching material from everyday occurrences in the people's police kreis headquarters and reviers. This is practical expertise. The graduate from this school must know what he must do as a policeman in case of an accident. First Aid is taught at the beginning of the course. From experienced officers, the student learns the difference between felonies, misdemeanors, disorderly conduct, what the duties and rights of a policeman are in certain situations. Of course this also means that many paragraphs must be studied, because the knowledge of law, various regulations and rules is part of it.

## Knowledge and Conduct as Goal of Education

The break is over. Now comes a film about proper conduct at the scene of the crime. A number of films like it or similar to it are available. After the film, the teacher explains the reasons for everything. But he also asks this or that comrade: "How would you have acted in this case?" Police instructor 1st Lt. Gottfried Schoot confirms at the end of the hour: "To do the right thing for the protection of our state and its citizens requires not only extensive knowledge but also conscious and exemplary conduct." The evaluation of many examples serves this important educational goal of the people's police school. The 1st Lt. counts the student Frank Weidauer among those who are already highly conscious of their future responsibility. Frank is a quiet person who does not draw much attention to himself. One does not notice him immediately when a group gets together for debate. His fellow students and the instructors value his goal-directedness and reliability. Everything he does is to the point, be it his answers about the subject taught, or Marxism-Leninism, or his participation in the Join-In-Competition at school, in sports and in training.

## Our Citizens Are To Live in Security

Frank Weidauer had displayed this goal-directedness before. He passed his qualifying examination for his vocational training with good results. Like many of his fellow students, he passed his qualifying examination for his vocational training with good results. Like many of his fellow students, he served honorably for 3 years in the NVA. Even during that time he also trained others. His mostly good and very good marks at the people's police school attest to his seriousness with which the 24-year old prepares himself for the profession of policeman. In the meantime, Frank Weidauer has begun work as trainee in the bezirk town. Here, too, his performance has already been evaluated as exemplary. He himself says it this way: "It gives me satisfaction to see to it, along with others, that there is always order and safety; that crime is reduced. For this I want to give all I have to give."

9328

CSO: 2300/56

'NEPSZABADSAG' ON ANDROPOV CPSU CC SESSION REMARKS

AU291125 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Nov 82 p 3

[Ferenc Varnai article: "The Future Belongs to Detente"]

[Excerpt] Detente is not a chance episode in the history of mankind, the future belongs to this policy: This remark, which was made by Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee [at the 22 November plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee], has, in a few days, gone around the world. One of the reasons for this was probably the fact that it was made at a time when imperialist propaganda is using every means to persuade world public opinion that detente is finished, that it was a passing detour not even worth mentioning.

The Soviet leadership is aware of the fact that relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, these two particularly mighty great powers, are decisive from the viewpoint of the further development of the fate of the world. Already in the seventies, the "decade of detente," there have been numerous warnings made by the Soviet Union. Political detente can be firm only if it is complemented by steps on the path of military detente. Unfortunately, the influence of the bosses of the war industry monopolies has strengthened in the United States. They have succeeded in spreading the fallacy that only by creating a military superiority can the United States ensure the external energy and raw material sources indispensable for its production and consumption. However, this concept has led to a swift increase of the problems of economic management and a rapid rise of unemployment and inflation. In the system of co-operation among countries, satisfying the energy and raw material requirements of the United States and preventing the decline of peaceful economic branches can, in fact, be guaranteed precisely through detente.

Yuriy Andropov called the attention of U.S. Vice President George Bush to this at their meeting on the occasion of Leonid Brezhnev's funeral when he stressed: The Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate on the basis of equality and to develop mutually beneficial relations. This willingness was substantiated by the statement made by Premier Nikolay Tikhonov at the Soviet-U.S. Trade Council meeting held in Moscow which more than 200 U.S. businessmen attended.

Evidently, the U.S. businessmen who attended the council meeting want peace and would like to profit by a livening up of business contacts. However, although

the present U.S. administration was obliged to lift the gas pipeline embargo--among other reasons because of the resistance of its own allies--it is striving to force its allies to accept even more extensive discriminatory measures against the socialist countries. And extremist advisors are suggesting that the Soviet Union be induced to "arm to death" and, unfortunately--as shown by the latest decision on the placement of the MX missiles--this suggestion is having an effect for the time being.

When the CPSU declares that international tension can and must be overcome in spite of this and resolutely opposes the escalation of the dispute of ideas into a confrontation between states, an incessant arms race and war, it is not its mere desires that it expresses and it does not indulge in naive beliefs. It does not strive for negotiations that camouflage armament, but honest negotiations that serve disarmament and concessions that result in solutions that are useful and sensible for both sides. It disavows the policy of demanding unilateral concessions, "punishing" sanctions and blackmail. At the same time, it ensures its country and its allies and the peoples of the world against any surprise. It undertakes the necessary defensive measures against the threatening aggressive acts of imperialism and devotes increased care to strengthening the unity of the socialist community, seeing to it that the peace-loving people of the world close their ranks even tighter in the face of the machinations of warmongers.

Particular notice is deserved by those words of the CPSU general secretary that call attention to the fact that, keeping in mind the interests of socialism and peace, efforts are also required in socialist countries where appropriate trust and mutual understanding are still lacking for various reasons. "This also refers to our great neighbor, the people's Republic of China," noted Yuriy Andropov. "The ideas formulated by Leonid Brezhnev in his speeches in Tashkent and Baku, the emphasis on common sense and the significance of an attitude based on rejecting prejudices expressed the conviction of all our party, its endeavor to look to the future. We receive with great attention every positive response to this from the Chinese side."

The desire to improve these relations was also reflected by the gesture made by the CPSU general secretary when, while condolences were conveyed, he had a lengthy discussion with Huang Hua, the Chinese Government's foreign minister who was still in office at the time, and the fact that, after almost 1 and 1/2 decades, such high-level negotiations have taken place as have been conducted between the two countries' foreign ministers.

On the basis of equal rights and mutual agreement, the Soviet Union is always prepared to extensively develop its relations with the peace-loving countries of the developing world and the West European capitalist countries, which are playing such a significant role in making peaceful coexistence unfold, including the FRG, which has been assuming an outstanding role in bringing about detente in the last 1 and 1/2 decades. This was expressed by Andropov in his talks with West German Head of State Karl Carstens when he declared: His country remains prepared to do everything to maintain the previous cooperation which has also produced so many results for Europe as a whole.

The Soviet leadership represents a policy of striving for peace, detente and good-neighborly relations all the more consistently since--contrary to slanders--it does not need to expand in any way. It is a country that possesses a vast productive force and reserves, a country whose successful development needs only one prerequisite to be ensured. Years and decades spent in peace, the ability to apply its forces--instead of armament--to developing the economy and improving the standard of living and to work under tranquil external conditions to develop an efficient system for the direction of the national economy, to further develop socialist democracy and promote all factors ensuring the development of the socialist social system. That is the reason for the fact that the policy of the Soviet Union's leadership has been and remains predictable and the explanation for the fact that Yuriy Andropov could safely confirm at the CPSU Central Committee plenum. The future belongs to detente.

CSO: 2500/68

CAUSES OF YOUTH DISSATISFACTION EXAMINED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Istvan Huszar, director of CC Institute of Sociology: "Youth and Society\*"]

[Text] We must look at the problems of today's youth from the standpoint of the social, economic, political, and ideological processes that mark the 1980's. In the midst of our consolidated stable social structure today there are many phenomena which deviate from the processes that could have been predicted from the earlier world view. The processes of mobility which changed the social structure in large-scale and predictable ways have stopped. Economic development has slowed and numerous inconsistencies have become more pronounced. In the given network of international economic connections, among the inconsistencies, crises and crisis conditions of the world economy the development of our economic strategy and the creation and maintenance of urgently necessary balance conditions has come to require unprecedented effort, and has become more difficult than expected. International tensions have increased. We are surrounded by dozens of crisis sources, and the near future, in our present opinion, does not promise carefree living or soaring dynamism. It is even possible that we are facing a period punctuated with setbacks in important economic and standard-of-living economic processes. The present has fallen out of rhythm with the period from the early 1960's to the late 1970's, and despite the apparently successful initiatives and experiments, we cannot offer a constructive answer to all aspects of the internal and external challenges of the times. We have not yet discovered all the factors of our society which provide flexibility and renewal; nor do we yet know how to resolve the necessary conflicts without polarizing them, so that we can continue to approach our social goals despite the increasing problems and can strengthen the political unity of our society.

All these issues and occurrences effect our youth deeply, and affect its various strata in many various ways. At the same time, they represent a call for rapid changes in our youth policies.

Many signs indicate that the issues of the 1980's puzzle and increasingly disorient our youth, or at least a significant majority of them. The fact that today's young generation has no personal experience with capitalistic, feudal Hungary is one explanation. It is important to remember that the parents of this generation grew up after the liberation, and thus their social experience

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\* Based on the introductory presentation of the national conference, "Youth in Society in the 1970's and 80's," Nyiregyhaza, 7 September 1982.



and socialization are entirely tied to the reality of socialist development. The present young generation was raised in the period of dynamic socio-economic change, improving standard of living, and broadening of social democracy; they were spared the experience of dramatic contradictions and social cataclysms. The impact of these historic values can in their own way bring about lack of understanding with regard to today's concerns and unusual occurrences.

These factors can only be aggravated by the unique hardships of the youth situation. These always seem new, even if some are not historically or sociologically, because every generation experiences them for the first time--and thus anew. Some of these hardships are the frequent sharp distinction between efforts and possibilities for continuing education or learning a trade; difficulties with career decisions and finding a job in some trades; unsatisfactory financial and moral recognition for higher general and trade learning; in many cases, extremely slow occupational advancement; and providing an independent existence, especially in obtaining housing.

These factors together create a situation in which it is necessary for our society to react in an entirely new manner, and rethink certain key tenets of our youth policy.

A rightful question can be posed: is the earlier, generally accepted opinion that among youth, the social behavior, conscious belief, and attitude towards the domestic socialist system and our goals generally positive, still valid? I am convinced that this opinion still stands. For this reason, we can construct the strategic program of youth policy with collective work. Both the demand and the readiness for this task is collective. General, troublesome political tensions are not present; youth take part information and implementation of social programs as a group; in other words, in their orientation towards our society, positive elements predominate.

This generally acceptable picture should not exclude certain important and hardly attractive elements, however. In practically every stratum of youth, passivity in politics and public life and alienation from activity in social institutions and especially youth organizations can be seen. We have begun to analyze the reasons.

With no less attention to the role of the mentioned historic factors and the effect of objective social and multifold international influences, we must also see that a chronic weakness envelops the system and practice of the transmission and reinforcement of our ideas. Besides the mentioned reasons, perhaps this explains why some groups of our youth can occasionally come under influences inimical to our morality. The institutional system dedicated to raising our youth is contending with serious functional difficulties. Formal actions initiated from above by the youth establishment have painfully little positive influence. The substantial majority of youth affected by the actions are forced to take part, and they rightfully miss possibilities for greater independence and initiative and those institutional forms which would allow broader space for positive social activity. These phenomena would merit attention even if they were motivated by inadequate recognition and inappropriate development of modern conditions. In any case, I feel that the answer to these questions can be a part of a long-range, conceptual youth policy program.

It is a truism that youth is not a unified social group, although peculiarities and characteristics arising from generational social differences must not be neglected. Indeed, new tendencies in the internal stratification of youth can be observed; on one hand, these tendencies relate closely to the changes taking place in the social structure, and on the other, these general social changes affect certain groups of youth uniquely. Until now, both policy and pedagogy have paid little attention to these facts, with the result that certain questions that did not affect all of youth, but large groups of it, often remained out of mind. Thus, for example, we speak of the situation and problems of the young intelligentsia, while in most cases we are focusing attention on the situation of one group of humanistic intellectual youth. Until very recently, we paid almost no attention to the problems of the technical and agricultural intelligentsia, even though this is the largest group of professionals; in addition, they are in direct contact with production, the strata of manual workers, they fill directorial positions in production and other management institutions, and thus generally realize and transmit central economic policy intentions. Thus the ideology they transmit or even the behavior and opinions they demonstrate can influence a very broad range of social agencies.

The employed strata fall similarly outside the attention of institutions dealing with youth. Although their numbers and proportion within youth are growing rapidly, we have much too little information concerning their situation, living conditions and way of life. In the past decade, youth policy has not been able to react successfully to the problems of this stratum.

Among working youth, skilled laborers receive selective attention. We have practically forgotten about the situation of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, especially those who have realized little mobility over the generations; yet this is the stratum for which social disadvantages frequently appear in clusters, and strictly determine the social opportunities and the rebirth of disadvantages generation after generation. Nearly 15 percent of all youth belong to this group. In the 1980's, their problems deserve special attention because, as the past decade demonstrated, this group cannot join in our social development processes on its own strength.

Thus, we should not speak of the problems of inequalities for youth; instead, in our social policy, we should concentrate on resolving the situation and conflicts of youth groups suffering from cumulative disadvantage.

Tensions among youth are due in part to the commonplaces of daily existence. Heightened tensions focus on starting life or family independently. These concerns have grown significantly in the past decade. The possibility of acquiring housing independently depends primarily on the parents' income; the young people's level of income by itself does not allow for accumulation of the resources necessary for independently financing housing. Parental support can determine the ability of youth to establish independence even in the long run; in this way, differences in the parents' social situation can be transmitted in a broad way, and can strongly inhibit the establishment of real independence.

The pay for young workers doing equal work generally falls far behind that of older people. This is especially apparent among young professionals, whose starting salary is far less than that of skilled workers of the same age, and does not catch up until they are over the age of 40.

The financial burden for day care represents a growing concern. To balance it, numerous measures have been enacted in the past 15 years. However, their effect has been neither lasting nor significant. The income level of families with children is increasing more rapidly. While 60 percent of the growth in nominal income between 1970-75 also represented real income growth, this proportion dropped to 40 percent in 1976-78 and 10 percent in 1979-80. Nominal income growth without corresponding real income growth hurts young couples with children doubly, since the cost of raising children grows rapidly even when real income stagnates. Aid to families covers only 20 percent of the family burden of raising the children. The discrepancy between the income per person of childless families and families with 2-3 children has increased by nearly 70-75 percent since 1972; generally, for a family with 2 children income is 1300 forints lower per person.

At present, the most serious concern of youth is the housing situation. Eighty-four percent of childless youth and 35 percent of youth with children are now without independent housing; furthermore, 10.5 percent of families with children live in their family homes or in sublet apartments. Four-fifths of redistributable housing is obtained through market means, and 75 percent of already high housing construction costs is covered by the financial resources of the population; thus the majority of youth are unable of their own strength to accumulate the money necessary to obtain housing. For certain strata of young wage-earners, the same housing level differences apply as for the adult population.

The conditions of housing availability today hardly motivate youth to save, and influence their consumer orientation adversely. Those that have accepted the burdens of securing housing are faced with such strict and lasting financial stress that their consumerism and way of life and sometimes even their career is deformed by it. The consumption level of youth independently securing housing is nearly 30 percent lower than that of other youth groups. Those who cannot find a realistic perspective on securing independent housing consider themselves "futureless"; they cannot realize the social goals of their circle. Thus it is timely that the current decision of the Central Committee and Council of Ministers concerning housing construction and management embodies the creation of conditions in which "young couples--regardless of their occupation or social standing or the forms of housing construction--will obtain their first housing more quickly and with more equitable chances." Yet the road from the possibility to the social tension-resolving reality still seems long.

On the basis of these straining influences and others we have only touched upon, other urgent, ideological questions arise: what kind of society are we creating? How and when will the financial and social conditions for the many-sided development of the individual come about? How will the perspective goal of social equality, socialist democracy and so on be defined and realized? In other words: the future is not enough; we need a vision of the future. Since this picture can never be finished, complete, nor especially free of surprises, it can only receive the same corrections and expansions that our past predictions have undergone. Despite all this, these questions deserve special attention. These questions embody the fact that youth do not expect only housing, increasing income, and a more free life from the socialist future; they desire a society in which concrete possibilities are offered for the development of identification

with the most important spheres of human activity, the modes of existence of the public character, organizations, collectives and institutions, social ideals and goals, and personal interest and aspirations. Reality is not the earthly twin of the ideal, and the roads are more uneven than those for which we have prepared youth. This is in itself adequate grounds for what we call social identity breakdowns.

It is true for our whole society, and especially for our youth, that values previously considered stable have gone through significant changes and have been strongly relativized. The yardstick has become more unsteady, unsure; social expectations and reality differ conspicuously from the mentioned values. In the institutional system of today's socialist democracy, useless measures are frequent, while in other areas the working mechanism for economic and social life is unpredictable, overregulated, and incomprehensible to youth. Thus it creates feelings of both anomie and defenselessness. All these can lead to confusion of social knowledge.

In the conclusion of an earlier party research project, we read that socialist knowledge "reflects the given society as its own." The statement continues: "socialist knowledge is not a satisfied knowledge...the metaphysical reaffirmation of the extant is not a characteristic of socialist knowledge. Its relationship to what exists is that of guardian or destroyer...it considers the extant a given chapter of historical development, which must be transcended." It seems that sincere efforts to transcend existing conditions are absent from the public knowledge, and that denial is the ruling force. Insufficiencies in our national and historical self-knowledge are probably involved to a large degree here.

We actively promote development of our national consciousness, but hardly enough. We speak openly of our concerns and burdens; we cannot deny this. Yet if we do not add historical lessons--or if we are dealing with the present, conceptions of social progress--we may begin to feel a lack of perspective and a real grasp of the situation is our best tool for decreasing and overcoming our identity and value-orientation troubles. Luckily, we have already thought out and concretized numerous important elements of such a program; however, creation of the missing, necessary elements and integration of the elements into a unified whole will still require great effort.

It is a general characteristic of institutions for raising youth that they evade youth's questions entirely. In some instances, the atmosphere is sometimes such that these questions cannot even be raised. Total condemnation of problem-sensitive youth and the application of reproach still takes place occasionally. These factors together can at times strengthen the effects of oppositionist movements. Thus I find it a central task--and basic social concerns come to bear here--that we renew our pedagogical institutions, particularly youth institutions and the school system, both in content and form. The party Central Committee established a basis for the latter in its spring decisions concerning directives for the development of the educational system. It must be emphasized that the road from planning the foundation to completing the house is still long and rugged. Of course, youth policy must be integrated with other aspects of the social institutional system in the changed reality of the 1980's. Only in this way can we react offensively to social changes and their accompanying sociological issues. There are high stakes involved in action and attitude, just as much as in postponing or neglecting them.

# LEGAL DEFINITION OF POVERTY LEVEL QUESTIONED

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[Article by Agota Horvath: "Assistance to the Poor"]

[Text] Sociographic articles and, less frequently, sociological studies inform us that poverty has not disappeared in Hungary. But who are the poor, and how many of them are there?

A library full of literature exists on the subject, and the approaches to the problem are of many different kinds.<sup>1</sup> Essays on poverty start for the most part from income size although it can hardly be disputed that those should be included among the poor who have no house or whose housing conditions are unacceptable<sup>2</sup> and can be improved only through merciless limitations on their consumption from their own resources (or not even in this way). This is true even if their income is at the average. Or where can we list the approximately 720,000 people who live four persons in a single-room apartment?<sup>3</sup> But no matter what variety of causes and how intricate the combination of the causes from which poverty situations derive, we can make statistically valid findings only on the basis of income as long as we lack a systematic study of poverty. Even though we still do not have in Hungary an officially accepted "minimum subsistence" concept.

According to 1977 income data,<sup>4</sup> 20.3 percent of the population had a per capita monthly income of no more than 1,600 forints, while 6.8 percent had less than 1,200 forints. If in place of the missing minimum subsistence concept we take the 1,070 forint pension minimum for the year in question, we may say that one-fifth of the population was poor, 6.8 percent was very poor. (Although it can in no way be taken into account, it must be mentioned that it was usually the most deprived sub-classes that were left out of the various surveys, the ones that can be the least supervised by the institutional system of society.) At any rate, there are about this many poor. But who are they?

First, we must include those families in which the earner-dependent ratio is unfavorable. This can be caused by the high number of children, the unemployment of women (whether in the form of gyés [childcare benefits] or housekeeping) and the broken character of the family, particularly if the family principal is a woman. In 1977, 62.8 percent of those living in families with four or more children managed with a monthly average income of less than 1,200 forints

per person. For families with one child or with two, the percentage was 2.2 percent or 4.4 percent respectively.<sup>5</sup>

Secondly, we must include those with low pensions: Those who retired a long time ago, manual agricultural workers performing unskilled or semiskilled work whose performance and earnings were thus reduced in the years immediately before going on pensions. While the above mentioned 6.8 percent lived on an income of less than 1,300 forints on a national average in 1977, the same ratio for pensioners and dependents was 12.4 percent.<sup>6</sup> Disabled pensioners are included here, their number was 333,000 in 1978.<sup>7</sup>

Thirdly, those without pensions: the tsz [producer cooperative] annuitants and those on social welfare. Among the latter are not only elderly but also those in an active age group who became disabled before gaining the work relation necessary for pension entitlement. (In 1974 about 51,000 people received regular and full social welfare assistance, while the number of those registered on the waiting list was about 1,200. In the first half of 1975, the upper limit for one month's assistance was 532 forints.<sup>8</sup>)

As we know, the years of schooling completed by the principal in families with a low income is generally low. A low level of schooling indicates their place in social work specialization: in 1977, 6.8 percent of the population lived on an average income of less than 1,200 forints a month, but among the families of semiskilled workers this was 9.8 percent, unskilled workers and auxiliary workers 16.6 percent and manual agricultural workers 7.4 percent.<sup>9</sup>

The above-listed, but by no means all, factors often appear in clusters, which makes it more difficult or even impossible to break out of poverty through one's own resources.

Both on the basis of sociographic works<sup>10</sup> and sociological studies,<sup>11</sup> the picture emerges that the housing situation of sub-classes with low incomes is substantially below average, in quality, degree of amenities and density. Their nourishment is inadequate both quantitatively and qualitatively. Thus there are families that are destitute, and naturally children are also living in these families. The social policy of the state tried to help them in their circumstances when in 1974 regular rearing assistance (hereinafter RNS) was created and put into operation on 1 January 1975. What is this assistance?

"If because of social circumstances the parents are unable to care for a minor because they as well as other relatives obligated to maintenance have through no fault of their own such low earnings, or other incomes, that these do not reach the prevailing per capita pension minimum, and therefore institutional placement should be provided for the minor, but the parents' (...) circumstances are suitable for them to provide for the rearing and care of the minor: the public guardianship authority--as a duty of the office or upon request--may arrange to provide regular rearing assistance without institutional placement. The goal of the rearing assistance is to help the rearing of the child in his own family."



The granting of rearing assistance may be ordered only if the following, combined conditions exist:

--if "the housing conditions assure a healthy environment for rearing the minor";

--if "the parent and persons living together with the family are suitable for properly assuring the development of the child's personality";

--if "a desirable family atmosphere and emotional ties are secure between parent and child."

The rearing assistance consists of monetary payments and payments in kind, and these may be granted combined or separately. The form and extent of the assistance is established by the public guardianship authority together with the Child and Youth Protection Institute (hereinafter GYIVI), and it will be this latter institute that makes the payments.

Assistance is excluded:

--if the behavior of a person living together with the parent may endanger the rearing of the minor;

--if the parent neglected to provide medical care for the child;

--if the development of the unfavorable material and social situation of the family was caused by irresponsible behavior, improper use of income, and unwarranted job changes; and

--if the parent is unable to change objectionable behavior by the child.

The rearing assistance must be withdrawn if the parent does not require regular school attendance by the child, and if "in the same semester the child has a second unexcused absence because of his own fault, regardless of the number of hours or days missed."<sup>12</sup>

The question arises as to how many children in Hungary are living in such social conditions that the parents are unable to take adequate care of them.

According to the calculations of Zsuzsa Ferge,<sup>13</sup> there were about 2.2 million children below the age of 15 years in the country in 1977. On basis of 1977 income data, there were 240,000 children among these who lived in families where the monthly income was 1,200 forints or less per capita. Therefore, to judge by age and the material situation of the family, this many children would have been entitled to RNS in 1977. (This figure is raised somewhat because a child over 15 years of age who is continuing his studies may also receive RNS; it is somewhat reduced by the fact that the pension minimum in 1977 was only 1,070 forints.) Of these approximately 240,000 children, 8,400 received RNS, or not entirely 4 percent of those entitled by virtue of their indigence. Even if we assume that in 1977 all of the 34,400 children in state care were in institutes because of material reasons, still in the most ordinary sense of the word approximately 200,000 children were deprived. In essence, this ratio has not changed: although the number of those sharing in RNS in-



creased, there were only 10,066 in 1979. One reason for this is that the decree excludes a large portion of the indigent, mostly by reason of the fact that it sets appropriate housing as a condition. The other reason is that the indigent--giving the lack of adequate information--do not know about the assistance. The third is that the institutional capacity--of which we shall speak below--does not make systematic fact-finding of the cases possible. Down to 1979 there was no sign at all that they would like to expand the institution with a fact-finding apparatus (or with a considerable addition in personnel), presumably because the money intended for this purpose would turn out to be too little for those entitled to assistance. And with this we have arrived to the internal contradictions of this form of assistance.

#### Material Sources of Support

In Budapest it is the Capital City Council which provides the financial cover for RNS:<sup>14</sup>

in 1975	6,493,144 forints including supplementary credit:	1,455,592 forints
in 1976	12,099,737 forints including supplementary credit:	4,515,337 forints
in 1977	12,594,172 forints including supplementary credit:	2,554,974 forints
in 1978	14,994,168 forints including supplementary credit:	4,176,482 forints

It is evident that in 1976 they built 1,019,256 forints of the previous year's supplementary credit into the budget (and only 25 percent was not). In 1977 they built in 2,454,798 forints (and not 45.6 percent); in 1978, however, the budget was expanded by only 778,488 forints (and 69.5 percent was not built in). In 1979, 2,800,000 forints were lacking from the budget, of this 2 million forints were given from supplementary credit, but they made the further saving of 800,000 forints the task of the GYIVI.

It is obvious from the budgetary data that as the extent of the help given was expanded the council became more tight-fisted, to the same extent, in legalizing additional expenditures. An increasingly smaller percentage of additional outlays stemming from the discovery of new cases were built into the following year's budget until finally a rather absurd--given the fact it was a matter of social welfare--savings requirement presented itself. With a bit of fantasy one may also imagine what happened to the frame of mind of the administrators (the CYIVI managers and working staff). It is one thing to work with a budget that rightfully increases with a growth in the number of those who are rightfully helped, and an entirely different matter to work with an increase in the ratio that is not built into the budget. If the increase is not built in, this is the same as if "it were not entirely just." And the word itself--supplementary credit--stirs unpleasant notions--as if someone had managed unwisely, lacked foresight, and calculated poorly. And it only confirms a faintly guilty conscience that in the future it will be necessary to "economize."

But how can a Child and Youth Protection Institute--which has the task of supporting children in low-income families--economize? At the most, it can do so by not giving support.

"With the new fact-findings we are still constantly encountering families living at a low-income level like this (under 800 forints per person) who in

the course of well-managed circumstances would be entitled to assistance. But because of the material sources available, a possibility for their support at present exists only in ratio to the elimination of on-going assistance grants."<sup>15</sup>

Thus the indigent must wait their turn. The public assistance authorities and GYIVI rank those on the list. (What else could they do?) It places at the top the families with the lowest incomes, and with slowly released sources begins to give them assistance. With this a hopeless competition begins: The pension minimum rises from year to year, and accordingly the scope of the entitled expands from year to year. The support inevitably lags: for example, the monthly per capita income of families that started to receive aid in the first half of 1978 was 895 forints. Even in 1975 this sum was below the pension minimum, but their turn did not come up until 3 years later.

It is also possible to economize by observing a special technicality. In principle, everyone is entitled to the rearing assistance who meets the criterion and applies for the aid. But how does one arrive to the point of making an application? There is no systematic fact-finding work, the assistance has not been given much open propaganda. After these things:

"It may come in various ways to the attention of the authorities that some respectable family is living without means, in poverty, and the children as a result are disadvantaged. The unfavorable situation of children may become evident at school, to department chiefs during family visits, and teachers in charge. Welfare workers and kindergarten teachers may become aware of the bad conditions. Neighbors, acquaintances may report to the district council, for example, that the material conditions of some family have deteriorated and they need help."<sup>16</sup>

One method has been omitted from the enumeration: being familiar with the assistance (as they are familiar, let us say, with gyes), the indigents initiate the procedure themselves and--knowing the statutory provisions regarding assistance--they put in an application. This occurs, but is actually not characteristic.

On the other hand, I have encountered various such cases where the social department of the council--because of its impecunious status--has for years been paying out a monthly 700-800 forints in social assistance to the family principal, but regular rearing assistance has been issued only in the recent past. It has also been known to happen that the guardian affairs department has granted several exceptional assistance payments (that is, these were "discovered"), but regular rearing assistance was made only after the request of the parent. In fact, it has also happened that several children in one family have received RNS, but altogether their income remained below the pension minimum. In the sense of the decree they continue to be unprovided for as those who do not receive RNS at all. But five other children in the family could be granted assistance, and the income brought up to the pension minimum. Why is this not done? We learn the answer from the notes of a foster-parent inspector:

"Even with our assistance their income remained below the pension minimum (...). The children wore out one another's clothes until they fell apart. We raise their own 700-forint income to only 1,100 forints. If the remaining five

children were to receive regular rearing care, this would mean 2,550 forints according to the present ages of the children, and since the present assistance is 4,330 forints, the total would come to 6,800 forints, or 140 percent of the parent's own wages. We have not given such assistance sum to any single family as yet, but it is also true that there is no other family at present with this number of members. The parents have not as yet asked for assistance for the listed children."<sup>17</sup>

Since there are many indigents and little money, we must also inevitably weigh other considerations in addition to the extent of the material indigence: the situation is such that it not only gives those who direct assistance affairs an opportunity but also imperatively calls their attention to the fact that they should rely on their subjectivity. In fact, it is necessary to select! But this is the source of further contradictions.

#### Prior to Assistance

Before the granting of assistance, basic preliminary studies involving much work are prepared. The major means and at the same time the product of preliminary studies is the environmental study. Various peoples and organizations prepare environmental studies about the same family: the official in charge of the proper guardian authority, the foster-parent inspector of GYIVI, teachers at school, the rearing, advisory and family care pedagogues and the welfare workers.

Unexpectedness is characteristic of the preparation of an environmental study. It must in every way be avoided that families expecting aid should prepare the "environment" and paint a better picture of themselves than is actually true. Whoever wants help (whoever is poor) must accept the fact that the authorities may drop in unexpectedly at any time; morning, afternoon, evening, Saturday, Sunday--any time is suitable. And not only when the preparatory work is going on but to the end throughout the years that assistance is granted. This places an enormous burden on the authorities (consider how often they visit in vain), who do it only to firm up their own convictions that they are doing their work well.

Among environmental studies, the most important one is the so-called official environmental study, which is prepared by GYIVI and the guardian affairs authorities. This is a basic report on family incomes (pay, bonus, profit shares, sick pay, pension payment, family allowance, maintenance, money paid by sub-renters, incidental income scholarship for a child who is an industrial apprentice, and so forth).

This report is the basis of their getting any aid at all. But since many are indigent for material reasons, further information must serve the purposes of selection, justification as to why "it was they who received it." These and other points of view show up in the descriptions of the housing, children, and parents.

Regarding housing:

"The family makes use of its possibilities. Every room is furnished with curtains, carpets, flowers, and appropriate furniture satisfying every requirement is available to the family."

"Bedding, blankets, needle-work, dishware that can be seen in the apartment indicate that the family has tried to accumulate."

"Their only wardrobe is a built-in closet in which clean, neatly arranged children's belongings may be seen."

"...a pantry in which preserved foods and a smoked piece of pork, bacon and sausage can be seen. The animal was raised and slaughtered by the parents...."

Regarding the parents:

"They are well-balanced, lively. They never complain, they are thankful for every little thing."

"The mother had little schooling, but she willingly accepts our advice on child rearing."

"The father is an extremely respected worker at the institute, an old party member, member of the institute's Politburo, he does a great deal of social work, and raises his children in the socialist spirit."

"The parents are quiet, soft-spoken people. Each child studies music. In the evenings they play in a chamber orchestra."

"The parents' lifestyle is well-ordered, harmonious. The six minors are evidence that they like each other, have confidence in each other."

"The family is modest, orderly in behavior."

Regarding the children:

"The children behave with the greatest respect toward their parents."

"The children learn well...they are courteous."

"The children are free in a disciplined way."

"He is an active group child. He accepts every task. Good-spirited, balanced, very quiet, likeable. Scout leader."

"The relations of the children with their teachers and peers are exemplary."

"The children are modest, obedient."

What do these environmental studies indicate? First of all, the ideals of an institution: conflict-free, proper, solid families who live in nicely furnished apartments that may not be too large or extremely good, together with their children who are good learners, diligent, quiet and courteous. It is only necessary to correct their material situation a bit. But the environmental studies indicate something else: the worthy efforts of those who prepare the studies to demonstrate the suitability for assistance of the families entrusted to their attention. After the assistance is received, another picture unfolds from their subsequent unannounced visits to the families: the life of the poor as it is ridden with conflicts and unsettled problems.

The official environmental studies--in respect to the circumstances of their preparation and their substance--are characterized by a strange duality: the wariness of the official and the compassion of the individual. It is possible to interpret in different ways the conditions in the decree--for example, "the existence of a desirable family atmosphere and emotional ties between parent and child," or the suitability of "the parent and persons living with the family for properly assuring the development of the child's personality." For a person visiting in the name of an institution, the most strict interpretation of a statutory provision appears to be the most appropriately official way to act in doing the most exact work. But with strict interpretation it will be possible to give help only to very few families. Thus those who prepare an environmental study find themselves faced with the raw reality of poverty. This stirs the compassion that dwells in their breast. They turn from a strict interpretation, but they do so with a bad conscience and a vague sense of guilt. To counter their sense of guilt and increase their inner security, they become suspicious: what if they were taken in by some kind of appearance, what if they were deceived by the families entrusted to them. They try to avoid this with unannounced visits, this is why the substantive and insubstantive elements are mingled in the environmental studies, this is why they peer into the pantries, and this is why they pry into the more intimate spheres of human life.

#### Sharing in Assistance

After the preparation of the environmental study, the guardianship authority brings before the director of GYIVI an assistance proposal for a "worthy" family. After this, assistance is begun generally on the first of the following month.

The regular rearing assistance consists of two parts: money assistance and allowances in kind. The financial aid is a regular monthly sum, the exact amount determined by a precise schedule depending on the age of the child, his health condition, and the school grade that he is in. The lowest schedule entry is 480 forints (for a healthy pupil between the ages of 0 to 3) and the highest is 900 forints (for a healthy pupil between the ages of 14 to 18, or for a very sick child of the same age).

The allowances in kind consist of clothing twice a year, school and gymnastic equipment. Between the age of 3 to 18 the value of clothing comes to a total of 2,500 forints, and between the ages of 0 to 3 to a total of 800 forints. The value of the school and gymnastic equipment comes to 300 forints. There

is also also an intermediate solution, the so-called starting clothing. This means autumn and spring clothing with further allowance in kind. The value may exceed 2,500 forints.

A child may receive both kinds of assistance, but it may also receive only financial aid or allowance in kind. Generally, and becoming more and more so, the solution is financial assistance without allowance in kind. A family may receive RNS for a number of its children, or for all of them, there is no limit on the sum that can be paid out to a family.

In gathering the data, I examined 310 assistance allocation actions affecting 289 families. On the basis of these data I reviewed how the material situation of the assisted families developed after assistance was started.

Before assistance is granted, of course, the income of every family is below the pension minimum. What caused the low per capita income in these families? I found the following main reasons (I have not ranked the individual factors, because in some instances they appear accumulatively):

--A poor earner/dependent ratio. This is caused in part by a high number of children (in the families that were studied the average number of children was 3.9); it is also caused in part by single-parent families (29 percent of those studied). Moreover, in broken families, aside from a few exceptions, women were the breadwinners. In seven families the grandparents (as guardians) were the breadwinners.

--Gyes. At the time of aid remittance 100 women (32 percent) were on child care assistance.

--Homemaker status. In the families that were studied, 74 women (24 percent) were homemakers, most of them in families with three or more children. In case of a small number of children, a homemaker mother was to be found only in the case of a gravely ill or mentally retarded child.

--Disability pension. Among the parents, 76 persons are on disability pension, among these 23 are the only breadwinners.

A characteristic picture is shown by the socio-economic group to which the family principal belongs. On the basis of data on 201 fathers and 78 single mothers I found the following distribution:

Társadalmi-gazdasági csoport (1)	fő (2)	% (3)
értelmiségi (4)	22	7
középszintű szellemi (5)	12	4
együtt (6)	34 fő	11%
szakmunkás (7)	39	13
betanított munkás (8)	57	20
segédmunkás (9)	49	17
együtt (6)	145 fő (2)	50%
Egyéb: (10)		
- nyugdíjas (11)	61	21
- gyás (12)	19	7
- egyetemi hallgató (13)	9	3
- szoc. segélyezett, sorkatona (14)	11	4
- ismeretlen (15)	10	4
Összesen (16)	289	100

\* Az itt felsoroltak egy részénél (nyugdíjas, gyás stb.) az aktákból kideríthetetlen volt az eredeti (17)

Table 1. Socio-economic group, 2--number, 3--percent, 4--intelligentsia, 5--medium-level intellectual, 6--combined, 7--skilled workers, 8--semiskilled workers, 9--unskilled workers, 10--Other\*, 11--pensioners, 12--gyás, 13--university students, 14--socially assisted enlisted soldiers, 15--unknown, 16--Total, 17--\*Among some of these (pensioner, gyás, etc) it was impossible to make out the original.

After this detour in characterization of the families receiving assistance, let us return to the development of the material situation after receipt of aid.

Year assistance granted	Pension minimum (31 December)	Average monthly, per capita income of assisted families (in forints)	
		Before assistance	After assistance
1975	910	683	944
1976	960	789	1079
1977	1070	869	1159
1978 (30 June 1978)	1140	895	1198

In the average total grant, together with aid, the monthly per capita average income rose above the actual pension minimum in every year. But the average covers up the fact that there is a group--and a rather large one--in which income remained below the pension minimum even when combined with aid.

Between 1975 and 1978, the monthly per capita income remained in the year of the grant below the pension minimum in 86 cases (28 percent) out of 310.

It is possible to remain below the pension minimum for two reasons after assistance is granted. Either because the schedule disallows the granting of greater aid (that is, all the children in the family are being assisted, but this is not enough to attain the pension minimum) or because all the children are not being granted assistance, and if they were, the family income would



come up to the pension minimum. But why do they not grant aid to more children in these families, why do they not bring their income up to the minimum as represented by the pension? To answer this question, we must see what kind of families these are.

Let us take as an example the data on those assisted in the first half of 1978! In Budapest in 1978 a total of 1,455 children were being assisted, among whom I have data for the families of 524 children (36 percent). These 524 children lived in 179 families. In 130 of these families the per capita income, combined with aid, reached the pension minimum, but it did not in 49 families. In 23 of these 49 families the schedule causes the shortcoming, and in these cases there are no unassisted children at all. In the remaining 26 families the average number of unassisted children is 2.2. (For comparison purposes it is worth noting that the average number of unassisted children in families that have reached the pension minimum is 0.7.)

Moreover, the average number of children in the 130 families that reached the pension minimum is 3.4; in the 23 families that remained below the pension minimum because of the schedule system, 3.1; and in the 26 families with many unassisted children 5.8.

If I assume the assistance that fell below possibilities was the result of some kind of subjective discrimination then I can state that the discrimination operates against families with a greater number of children. Of course, this is not absolutely valid or automatic, for there are five or six children in some of the families that have attained the pension minimum. These data only indicate that the greater the number of children in a family the greater chance there is to fall below the pension minimum. Actually, it is not even a matter of the number of children but of the fact that the larger a poor family is the greater the chance that a unique "poverty subculture" will be characteristic of it, and this does not correspond with the "propriety" notion of the institution. In regard to parents with children who are assisted at a sub-level, there are frequent comments in the characterizations about the disorderliness of the lifestyle, bad relations with the school, the "low level of house culture," neglect of cleanliness, and so forth.

In addition to the value conflict between the office and those assisted, the above-mentioned suspicions are stimulated even more strongly because in these families the ratio of women in housekeeping and child care assistance is substantially higher than in the families studied as a whole. Although it is none of their business, the inspectors representing the institution fear that mothers bear children in the hope of aid, or terminate work relations for the same reason. It is evident from the notations that the subject of a large number of children or contraception is often discussed between the inspector and the family.

Further evidence of subjective discrimination is the fact that examination of the 12 foster-parent inspectors shows clear differences in their practice. In the various families under the care of different inspectors the ratio of those at sub-level assistance varies, and also the tolerance for families with a large number of children is different.

Summarizing the problems related to the material aspect of assistance, it may be said that the statutory provisions make possible the dysfunctional operation of aid from two aspects:

1. The schedules prevent some of the families from attaining a per capita income as compared to the pension minimum.
2. Since only the upper limit is clearly indicated but not the lower, an opening is left for subjectivity by the grant officers who withhold a part of the sum that in principle may be paid out. In this way, some of the families at the moment of the grant issuance, remain below the income level for the attainment of which they were given assistance in the first place.

This operational irregularity cannot be ignored for it affects more than one-fourth of the families studied.

### "Family Caring"

Regular rearing assistance does not actually consist only of money assistance and allowances in kind. Since the beginning of the aid program, GYIVI foster-parent inspectors maintain regular relations with the family. In the course of this, they pay--still unannounced--at first weekly and biweekly, and then monthly visits, as I read in one report "they build into the family." They supervise the use of the assistance, the behavior of the family, and if they regard it as necessary they give advice, instruct--in short, they exercise their inspection rights and obligations. They follow carefully the child's study results, ask for regular reports from the school, maintain ties with the teachers, and in fact sometimes they even help settle some of the everyday problems of the family.

The original role of the foster-parent inspectors was to supervise state wards who were placed with foster parents. This was later expanded to include the supervision of children placed with their own natural parents. By and large, all this tied down the capacity of the network. And then in 1975 they created a brand new institution, the RSN, which imposed about three times as much work on them as their previous tasks. To do this work, they did not create an organization three times as large, or expand the existing organization to one three times as big. The number of inspectors, to be sure, was raised between 1975 and 1978, but not at all to the same extent as the number of families entrusted to them. In 1979 in Budapest, for example, 18 persons carried out this task.

In respect to their qualifications, most are pedagogues (lecturers, teachers), several are special education teachers for retarded children, a few are without training but are long time guardian affairs specialists. Several of them are near pension age or above. The network consists exclusively of women, only the group leader is a male, who does not do field work.

Besides their family visits, it is their task to conduct state administration over the children placed in foster homes (their number was 107 in 1979) and those receiving rearing assistance, prepare new assistance cases, maintain office days, perform duty officer service, etc. To carry out these tasks they have three crowded rooms which are always noisy because this is where clients

are received, where even the use of the single telephone linked to the center is complicated. (With this brief review I want merely to give an awareness of the social respect for family care activity.)

Administrative work related to assisted families is not exhausted with the preparation of an environmental study. Twice every year, every family's material situation must be reviewed and in addition experiences with the family must be recorded on a so-called "Character and Development" sheet.

In the following the discussion will be about the problems of family care activity. The documents created in the course of the assistance include by and large observations like those in the previous environmental study, only a little more critical, indicating at the same time areas of conflict:

"The five children and the sick father frequent the apartment. This coming and going shows on the condition of the floor."

"The affairs of the family require serious study (...) Z. is fighting with his brothers and sisters."

"They are not inclined to guard themselves against or interrupt pregnancy."

"He was given a serious warning in February. If he does not change his behavior, he will endanger the regular rearing assistance received by his four brothers and sisters."

The basis of the conflicts is in the fact that the RNS institution not only has distributable money but also an ideology. It is not satisfied when indigent children have something to eat and wear; the granting of assistance must also fulfill other tasks. There must be an improvement in:

1. The children's study achievements; 2. the relationship between the family and the school ("they regard the school education as good," "they speak respectfully of the teachers in presence of their children"); 3. the personal hygiene of the family and the family members; 4. family planning; 5. the family atmosphere; 6. the socialist character of the education (although the family is "idealistic in outlook"), they "rear the children in a humanist, socialist way similar to their school education"); 7. knowledge of how to handle money (the inspectors give advice on purchase priorities); 8. an increase in the family's free time which must be devoted to excursions, sports, cultural programs, movies, theater, museum visits; 9. an increase in the family's cultural activities, which must become evident in concert season tickets, development of a home library, subscriptions to magazines, etc.

These requirements appear in the documents prepared by the inspectors and the institutional questionnaires, but they have no practical importance. No one can be denied assistance for giving his child a religious education or not, whether he quarrels with the teacher or not, whether he has concert season tickets or not. All this promotes an ideological administration of the institution. These become a source of conflicts because in family care work they try to implement these requirements. And since the lack of information among

assisted families regarding criteria for aid is very great and since they believe that they must meet every wish of the inspector (otherwise why would he say it?), they suffer through every expression of disapproval as a threat. They believe assistance is at stake. At the same time they take it hard that the inspector should intervene in the most intimate sphere of their life and try to decide their lives on the basis of his own culture and values. The conflict may rise at various points of the requirements; I will choose here only one, where the child stands at the point of impact.

Since the inspector is continuously following the school achievements of the children and the development of their behavior at school, and "he talks with them from time to time and urges them to study more industriously, many of the parents believe that assistance depends on this. They do not know (at least in the case of a child in the general school) that it is not possible to withdraw assistance either for poor studies or for poor behavior at school. The uniformed parent tries to influence the child through hard or delicate means. The child is afraid of the parent, and the parent is afraid of the inspector. These children are conscious from the age of 6 years that they are different from other children and that by virtue of their behavior and school achievements they, too, are responsible for the material situation of the family. But this will not make them learn better because the present Hungarian school system does not "teach" study material but "teaches it down"; it "entrusts learning to the pupil, the parents,"<sup>18</sup> and it is precisely the parents who can least help in learning. And thus anxiety becomes fixed in the children. The deficient expertise of the inspectors strengthens the conflict-arousing effect of the unrealistic desires linked to assistance. This is illustrated better than by any analysis if we list the observations made by the inspectors on children of various ages:

Eighteen-month old: "they bathe him daily. Still he is not clean. He is always crawling around on the ground, and his clothes and hands are dirty most of the time."

Twenty-one month old: "not house trained."

Two-year old: "guards his toys."

Three-year old: "becomes hysterical when his plan is unsuccessful; or "does not always obey his mother."

Four-year old: "an extremely lively, agile, undisciplined child; or

"Moral-political development: he cannot distinguish the imaginary from the real. Traces of mystical thinking can be found in the minor"; or

"...They do not give him physical work to do at home."

Seven-year old: "puts his room in order only if ordered to do so" or; "dresses slowly."

Nine-year old: "Reads an awful lot, but only tales."

Ten-year old: "Cannot as yet set definite goals, only short-term ones that can be swiftly and easily achieved. But if some good game comes up, he puts aside his good intentions (...) and does not have any career direction."

Fifteen-year old: "...in constant conflict with his mother. Friends with a boy. Wants to be a waiter. Only income interests him in career selection."

It is questionable what kind of family-care work can be done by people who are so uninformed in development psychology. And yet the basic problem--and this is the last of a series--does not derive from a lack of professional training but from the fact that family care is tied together with assistance. Even if the inspectors' work were carried out by gifted psychologists-pedagogues-sociologists, the effectiveness of their work would be ruined by the fact that those they cared for were materially dependent on them. In such a one-sided relationship, it is not possible to develop close human relationships, although this is the condition for successful family care.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See in this regard: Ferge-Gara-Horvath-Szalai: "A Review of Western Views Regarding Poverty and the Multiple Disadvantageous Situation," VALOSAG, February 1982.

2. In 1974, 31 percent of families with three children and 44 percent of families with four children or more lived in a one-room apartment.

"Of the 413,000 registered at councils as seeking an apartment, 2,000 justified their housing demand with reference to the dangerous conditions of their present apartments and 20,000 with reference to their unhealthy state." (And these were only the registered.) "About 100,000 persons lived in shacks or a construction of similar level, and in addition another 20,000 persons lived in premises not built as housing (kitchen, cellar, business place). Among state apartments about 20,000 are in cellars and subground floors, and the number of people living in such places may be estimated at about 60,000."

(Source: "Composition of the Multiple Disadvantageous Sub-Classes. The Causes for the Reproduction of Disadvantage," Research Program. Prepared by Dr Karoly Marjanke, SZEKI [Expansion unknown] 1980.)

3. Estimated from housing data in the 1980 census: Zsuzsa Ferge (Manuscript).
4. "Level and Distribution of Family Income in 1977," Budapest, Central Statistical Office, 1980.
- 5-6. Ibid.
7. Julia M. Venyige; "Concept, More Important Groups and Occupation of Manpower with Limited Work Capability," (Discussion materials), Ministry of Labor Research Institute, 1981.

8. Ildiko Bakcsi: "Analysis of the Living Conditions of the Socially Assisted," Ministry of Labor Socio-political Department, 1975.
9. "Level and Distribution of Family Incomes in 1977," Budapest, Central Statistical Office, 1980.
10. Katalin Fabian: "The Makoldi Family (The Discovery of Hungary). Szepirodalmi Kiado, Budapest 1977; Gyorgy Berkovits: "In a Metropolis" (The Discovery of Hungary), Szepirodalmi Kiado, Budapest 1976; and many other shorter pieces in VALOSAG, MOZGO VILAG and KULTURA ES KOZOSSEG.
11. For example: "Research Conducted in 1971 Dealing with a Report on the Situation of the Gypsies in 1971" (publications of the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1976); Ottilia Solt: "A Low-Income Working Family in a Budapest District," BUDAPEST NEVELO, March 1975; "Unskilled Laboring Families" (publications of the Capital City Pedagogical Institute, Budapest 1977. Edited by Ottilia Solt).
12. The basis of the assistance survey and the source of the quotations is the decree of the Minister of Education, OM, 1974 (27 June), and the circular letter published on this subject by the Ministry of Education in 1977.
13. Zsuzsa Ferge: "Several Contributions to the Income Situation of Families with Children," VALOSAG, August 1980.
14. I completed my study in Budapest, and thus in the following there will be a discussion of assistance practices and data in the capital city.
15. From the GYIVI report presented to the Education Committee of the Capital City Council, October 1979.
16. MAGYARORSZAG, No 13, 1979.
17. "Report on Inspectors' Experiences Regarding Minors in RNS," GYIVI, Budapest, 1976.
18. Jozsef Nagy: "The Strategy of Instruction," KOZNEVELES, 16 October 1981.

6691

CSO: 2500/32

FORMATION OF 'ROMANIAN NATION' DISCUSSED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 5 Nov 82 pp 4, 10

[Article by Vasile Iota: "When Was the Romanian Nation Formed?"]

[Text] As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, scientific knowledge of the millenary history of the Romanian people and their struggle for existence, for social and national freedom, and for independence and unity is basic to any ideological, theoretical and political-educational effort toward the masses' patriotic, socialist and revolutionary indoctrination. From this standpoint scientific-theoretical clarification of the historical period and the particular historical factors and circumstances that led to the birth (formation) of the Romanian nation is of vital theoretical and practical importance.

In discussing the critical importance of community of economic activity in explaining the birth (formation) of nations (See CONTEMPORANUL No 40, 1 October 1982) I think we must reject the theory (a basic component of the old conception) that a relatively lasting community of economic activity was formed in certain areas but not until the appearance of the capitalist production method.

To be sure continuing intensification of the division of labor and development of production and exchange of goods played an important part in the formation of relatively lasting communities of economic activity. But on the one hand we must allow for the actual fact that division of labor, production and exchange of goods, trade and trade capital appeared long before capitalism and even flourished in some previous periods. For example, historical and archeological evidence unquestionably proves the intensive development of the handicrafts and of domestic and foreign trade right in the feudal period, in the time of Stefan the great and Mircea the Old. That fact in itself attests a relatively close community of economic activity in that period. On the other hand, we must allow for the fact that the community of economic activity of a population with a relatively stable state organization of its own is not confined to ties due to the division of labor and production and exchange of goods. It was brought about, and sometimes to an even greater extent, by a number of legal-administrative, political-military, fiscal and other ways and means. The maintenance of the



boyars' and princes' courts, the capacity to equip and maintain armies, and the fulfillment of many "obligations" bear witness to a relatively lasting community of economic activity and permanent and close economic ties between the inhabitants of the Romanian lands during the period of developed feudalism and of formation and consolidation of the centralized feudal states. Moreover the princes' donations, the validity throughout the entire country of various commercial, political or military treaties concluded by a prince with other countries, etc. indicate a lasting community of economic activity in the Romanian lands long before the "seeds of capitalism" appeared. Furthermore the increasingly abundant historical and archeological evidence reveals close economic ties (and others) both among the inhabitants of each of the three different Romanian lands and among the three Romanian lands, or the whole area inhabited by Romanians, and the specialists also consider this the historical period when the basic elements of the Romanian language were formed and established, when it was becoming, and already was, the medium of communication among all Romanians. The fact that various religious works began to be translated into Romanian back in the period of the centralized feudal states and the various chronicles and documents of the princes were written in Romanian proves the necessity of communicating with the people in the language spoken by the people. The great chroniclers' notation of the community of kinship, language and origin of the population of all three Romanian lands and their rejection of the mistaken theories that had begun to circulate concerning the origin of the Moldavian, Wallachian and Transylvanian peoples proves that awareness of national unity and unity of kinship already existed in this period in a developed form. In the old Romanian language (and not in the old one alone) the word "neam" was used not only in the sense of a connection of kinship but more and more frequently in that of the modern term "nation" while national awareness and especially awareness of national unity were only reflections of national existence.

It is a good sign that historical studies in the last decade and a half have found and attest the existence of all the definitive characteristics of the Romanian nation throughout the whole area inhabited by Romanians, the territory of the three Romanian lands, back in the period of developed feudalism. The historical studies as well as the party documents in these last 15 years quite rightly describe Michael the Brave's unification as a first attempt toward actual accomplishment of the Romanian nation's political unity as a state and the numerous wars in the period of developed feudalism as struggles for national liberation, preservation of national existence, and protection of national sovereignty and independence.

As Nicolae Ceausescu said in the above-mentioned speech, "It is very significant that close ties among the three Romanian principalities developed from the beginning. Awareness of the common origin and the desire to unite in a single state existed in one form or another, and they were fulfilled in Michael the Brave's time if only for a short period. The unification achieved under his rule reflected the Romanians' wish for a single state of their own, and it pre-saged the formation of the single Romanian national state later on in 1918." Yet some historians even evade express mention of the Romanian nation's existence in that period, while the "theorists" of the social sciences go on blandly stating in various works and textbooks that "The Romanian nation was founded in the middle of the 19th century."

As we well know, I. Patrascanu demonstrated 40 years ago that the transition from feudalism to capitalism in the Romanian lands began in the second half of the 18th century, and further historical studies of the origin of capitalism confirmed and reinforced those conclusions. Consequently the RCP Program, other party documents and the historical studies regard the people's uprising under Tudor Vladimirescu as a first manifestation of the bourgeois revolution, which clearly indicates the previous existence of a socioeconomic evolution toward capitalism. Patrascanu and many subsequent authors have pointed out the national and social character of the outlaws' revolution. And so not even capitalism appeared "in the middle of the 19th century," to say nothing of the "Romanian nation."

The basic error leading to the conclusion that the Romanian nation was formed in the middle of the 19th century also lies, among other things, in the confusion between the process of forming the nation and that of creating and completing the Romanian nation's political unity as a state.

The stages considered, in more or less the same way in all the sources that tried to determine the historic moment when the Romanian nation appeared, are not stages in the formation of the Romanian nation but in the creation and completion of the Romanian single national state. To be sure there is an inherent connection of interdependence and mutual influence between the two processes, but they are not identical and relatively distinct. One is the nation, and the national state, single or otherwise, is something else again.

Accordingly the theory of the nation's formation in the period of transition to capitalism is not borne out, at least for some nations, including the Romanian nation. Nor is it borne out for the nations, fully constituted today like the Mongolian nation for example or a number of nations within the USSR (whether or not they have been made autonomous republics), that have undergone no capitalist period of development but have passed to socialism upon skipping that stage, while some have even skipped the feudal stage. In our times the nations in full course of formation in Africa for example, or in other areas of the world, that have not even gone through feudalism and are not evolving toward capitalism have distinctive characteristics and features of their own. All this leads to the conclusion that the various nations were formed in various historical periods, under various economic and social-political conditions, and according to a series of specific-historical circumstances and each nation's own characteristics. Possibly some nations were formed in the period of transition to capitalism, but I think the Romanian nation and perhaps others too were formed right in the feudal period during the formation and consolidation of the centralized feudal states. I believe that some of the small feudal states (in Europe at least) between the latter and the Romanian lands were already formed in the Middle Ages on the principle of nationality, in the sense that each one of them comprised a population belonging in its great majority to the same nation, speaking the same language, etc., and could be regarded as national states in that period or as national states uniform in national structure.

But the fact that the Romanian nation in its entirety, like other nations and some even in our time, existed in the framework of three national states is another thing. Even in that period each and every one of them had within it all the distinctive characteristics and features of a nation. Furthermore, with the

exception of the community of political administration and partly of economic activity, the Romanian nation took the form of a single, uniform and identical nation throughout all three of the Romanian lands. In view of that fact, already noted and confirmed by the great chroniclers of the 16th-18th centuries, it is quite inaccurate and wrong to regard Moldavians, Wallachians and Transylvanians as separate and distinct nations and not to consider them all a single nation, namely the Romanian nation, as they actually were for more than 500 years. The sophistries that exaggerate the "qualitative" differences between the Romanian "people" and the Romanian "nation" or try to present Moldavians, Wallachians and Transylvanians as separate nations different from Romanians have nothing in common either with science or with reality or with the "Marxist-Leninist conception" of the nationalities problem. Consequently some "territorial amputations" effected by the various great powers after the period of the Romanian nation's formation but before the capitalist era directly and brutally violated the Romanian nation's legitimate rights, especially the right to national unity and independence and sometimes the right to life and national existence. And the formidable resistance to those attempts at denationalization, the formidable power of their instinct for national self-preservation, and the fact that after centuries of foreign oppression, including forced incorporation of territories within other states, the Romanian population of those territories preserved and even consolidated their national entity and awareness, their awareness of belonging to the Romanian nation, prove beyond a possible doubt how strongly constituted the Romanian nation already was in the period of the centralized feudal states.

Scientific clarification of the nation's origin, of the historical period and circumstances in which it appeared, and of the socioeconomic and state-political stages through which it passed, as well as rejection of some erroneous, superficial and simplistic ideas and theories about all those problems, are of a vital current importance that calls for a more detailed analysis.

5186

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# INCREASING ACCEPTANCE OF NATIVE ROCK MUSIC TRACED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1663, 14 Nov 82  
pp 24-25

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "The State Has Withered Away"]

[Text] Has a cease-fire finally been agreed on between the government and rock music in spite of polarized public opinion and the occasional outbursts of "keepers of law and order in the world of music"?

In spite of assertions to the effect that our government apparatus has never been in better form and condition, there is irrefutable evidence that some parts of it are withering away. It is true that this is occurring in an area which seems marginal, but one has to start somewhere!

We are referring, then, to the relationship between the government and rock music. Are they leaving one another "at peace"? We have several reasons for asking this.

Several evenings last week Djordje Belasavic, a Vojvodina (lalinska) version of a rock singer, spoke to an overflowing audience at the "Sava" Convention Center. I say "spoke" advisedly, since his performance was above all a first-class political cabaret rather than a conventional concert. In a communique lasting almost an hour, between his hits, Belasavic commented on the following in order: Medenica, the deposit, the stealing of the gasoline of members of parliament, the situation in Kosovo, the international situation, the sad case of Yugoslav soccer, and export and import problems. Judging by the approving reactions of the audience, it was clear that they are familiar with these cases and their thoughts run along the same lines as Belasavic. He concluded with this:

"We are in a mess and it is not easy for us, but not all of our problems are so serious and great. We have extricated ourselves from even bigger messes!"

A bit earlier, 3 weeks ago, a bass guitarist with a short haircut opened a rock concert in Novo Mesto with these words:

"Enjoy our group and the most recent measures of the Federal Executive Council!"

Two months after the "keepers" of law and order in the world of music called for the song "All Quiet on the Western Front" by the Belgrade group "Fish Chowder" to be banned--all because of the line "Fools die for ideals"--the "Chowder" made an appearance at a rally to show solidarity with the Palestinian people together with the generals and politicians. This seemed to be evidence that the shadow of ideological suspicion had been removed from the group and its lyrics.

However, two events back at the beginning of the year indicate still more obviously that some of the relations between the state and rock music are finally being regulated differently than in the past. (We are, of course, referring to the state in the broad sense--actually in the sense of everyone except that portion of young rock musicians!)

We are referring to the new records of the "Idols" of Belgrade ("Defense and Last Days") and the "Pankrti" of Ljubljana ("Favorites of the State").

#### Favorites of the State

The record of the "Idols" is what one might call liturgical in its spirit! The record smells of incense, and the song "You Are Mine" ends with a regular church ritual--"Save me, gentle comforter."

But these facts, viewed out of context, give the wrong impression. On the whole religious motifs are used very skillfully to make a very good rock record. That is why of the 10 or so excerpts of the lyrics which have appeared in the press concerning this record, only 1 has mild political intonations.

The second record being talked about is "Favorites of the State," which has already been mentioned. In the song "Unanimous and Firm" the Ljubljana group "Pankrti" sing:

"I am shocked that things can exist which consciously put our present moment in a bad light and destroy our average,  
I protest, whoever is not for us is against us,  
I protest, whoever is not for him is not one of us,  
I am shocked that it is possible at all for someone to do what he likes, to make cakes like that,  
I am shocked that we still put up with the indecisive who are detracting from our ability to act. Whoever thinks too much gets everything wrong.  
I am shocked at this critical moment. But if we are unanimous and firm, we will be able to destroy them when we come across them."

What has happened when these records "passed" without protest, when just recently the demand from any trade union local would have been enough to put a song or the entire opus of a rock musician under the political-ideological microscope? The lack of a real answer is confusing even to the musicians themselves. A few days ago one of the best known of them complained in Belgrade:

"I wrote everything in my last record and there was no reaction!"



It is obvious that the state is no longer figuring in the first line of monitors and that publishers are keeping a loose rein--above all, one would say, for commercial reasons, but they still cannot be criticized for lack of vigilance. On the jacket of the record by the "Pankrti," for example, a decent-looking young man is hugging the knees of some monument. The publisher explicitly required that this monument not be one from World War II, so a monument from World War I was used.

And then the "Pankrti" intended to have printed on the jacket, reminiscent of the advertising slogan "Fruktal in Collaboration With Nature"--"The Pankrti in Collaboration With the State"! But the publisher did not allow this. But all the lyrics on the other hand "did pass."

#### Freedom 82

The "Pankrti" themselves say that the appearance of the new record confirms that our society is far more tolerant than is usually thought. They are just starting out on a tour to which they have given the name "Freedom 82." Thus the public will ascertain whether the reference is to their criticism of social reality, which is sufficient unto itself--like most of the so-called committed rock lyrics, or whether it means a step further.

In this context we cannot avoid the case of the Slovenian punk rock musicians who were recently associated with scandals involving swastikas drawn in Ljubljana and the group "4 R" ("Fourth Reich") which was intentionally accentuated as evidence that a portion of Slovenian young people are playing around with fascism.

Later a round-table discussion of punk rock was organized at the School of Political Science at Ljubljana University which was attended by more than 300 listeners and participants in the discussion. Representatives came from the Supreme Court of Slovenia, the Ljubljana City Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Slovenian republic secretary for internal affairs. There were differing opinions beginning with the view that "punk is Nazism in the small," to the statement that it is not socially harmful, but is nonsensical in our social circumstances. Not long afterwards the new Slovenian minister of culture Matjaz Kmecl said that he does not like punk, but his official position is that "punk is among the phenomena which every national culture must have if it wishes to be complete."

It is obvious that the relations between the state and rock music have passed through several phases. We have passed from the complete ideological unsuitability of rock music and the time when it lived a deep underground existence to the phase of suspicion of individual songs, and then of lines and finally only of individual words in the songs of the young rock musicians and on the jackets of their records. That is obviously the phase we are now in.

In any case, it should be said that even in the past strict monitoring did not amount to much of a burden on young musicians who had something to say. Everything they were unable to record on a record they would sing at concerts. In short, it is a fact that the concerts and records of certain home-grown

groups do contain political commentary of a sort concerning our sociopolitical situation.

It would be too much, of course, to assert that there will not continue to be "custodians on duty" in the future. That would signify that something has gone wrong with rock music, since it is by definition outside the establishment. Just a few days ago some of the fiercest groups were complaining that there are cities in which they cannot get a hall for their concert, the television station did not want to mention the title of the record of the "Pankrti" in an advertising spot, and we have already written about the trial of members of the "Sound Laboratory" of Novi Sad because of the "unsuitability of their poster."

What is indisputable is that on recent records and in recent concerts there is more and more talk about the status of young people in society. These are not political rallies, it would be difficult for them to become that, but they are an obvious indication of the young generation's mood.

After all, young people today think that a job, an apartment and money are very important! When they get older, they will be assured of it! Otherwise why would those who are no longer young defend their jobs, their apartments and their money so stubbornly?!

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CSO: 2800/67

END